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ABSTRACT

This paper provides teachers with information about the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) and makes available instructional procedures and resources for teaching about the Klan. First, some ideas are presented for dealing with the unusual emotional climate that can arise when the KKK is discussed in a classroom. Next, a brief history of the KKK is provided, along with an analysis of why the KKK may be currently growing in size. Next, eleven lesson plans for classroom use are presented on these topics: (1) the Ku Klux Klan today; (2) the birth of the Ku Klux Klan; (3) the death of Reconstruction; (4) the beginnings of White supremacy; (5) the Klan in the 1920's; (6) the civil rights era; (7) the struggle for racial equality; (8) thoughts of an ex-Klansman; (9) myth vs. reality: social perceptions; (10) myth vs. reality: the process of scapegoating; and (11) countering the Klan. Primary materials such as newspaper articles and photographs are included. This booklet concludes with a glossary of key terms and a selected and annotated bibliography on the KKK. (KH)

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# VIOLENCE, THE KU KLUX KLAN AND THE STRUGGLE FOR EQUALITY

## AN INFORMATIONAL AND INSTRUCTIONAL KIT

UD 023 224

Prepared and Published by
The Connecticut Education Association
The Council on Interracial Books for Children
The National Education Association

# VIOLENCE, THE KU KLUX KLAN AND THE STRUGGLE FOR EQUALITY

## AN INFORMATIONAL AND INSTRUCTIONAL KIT

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**Dedication:** This teachers' kit is dedicated to Annie Stein (March 3, 1913—May 13, 1981), who developed the first draft of much of this curriculum. Annie's life, especially her work as an educator, political activist and unionist, exemplified commitment to the struggle for freedom and against racism.

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Top row: left, Freda Leinwand; center, Danny Lyon; right, National Archives
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# Teach the Truth about the Klan

*"What the Klan cannot stand is for the truth to be told about it. That is what the teachers should do."* (From an editorial in the Nashville *Tennessean*, January 16, 1981)

The purpose of this publication is to provide teachers with information about the Ku Klux Klan and to make available instructional procedures and resources for bringing the truth about the Klan to light in the classroom.

It is the product of a year-long collaborative effort by three educational organizations particularly concerned about new efforts by the Klan to spread the poison of bigotry, race hatred and violence among young people in the United States.

The Council on Interracial Books for Children has since 1966 been preparing and disseminating print and audio-visual materials for teachers and others to combat racism and sexism and to develop pluralism in schcols and in society. In 1980 it undertook a special instructional project on the Ku Klux Klan.

The National Education Association in February, 1980, established a Special Committee on Student Behavior Reflecting Racial and Ethnic Prejudice, which recommended NEA budget allocations for developing and printing curriculum materials for classroom use dealing with the KKK, neo-Nazi and other extremist groups. NEA Departments of Teacher Rights and Instruction and Professional Development were given primary responsibility for implementing this objective.

The Connecticut Education Association, in response to a Klan rally in Connecticut in the fall of 1980, appointed a classroom teacher Special Study Task Force on the Ku Klux Klan to put together an informational and instructional kit for teachers dealing with the threat of the KKK.

These three groups, after initially proceeding separately, joined forces and combined resources in 1981 to meet a common need in a unique, three-way educational enterprise, the end product of which is this book.

The widest possible use and distribution of this document is being promoted by all three organizations. Copies are available for purchase from the CIBC Resource Center, 1841 Broadway, New York, NY 10023.

It is our earnest hope that this will be an effective instrument for countering the negative force of the KKK and for upholding and advancing human equality.

—Beryle Banfield, President
*Council on Interracial Books for Children*
—Robert Chase, President
*Connecticut Education Association*
—Willard McGuire, President
*National Education Association*

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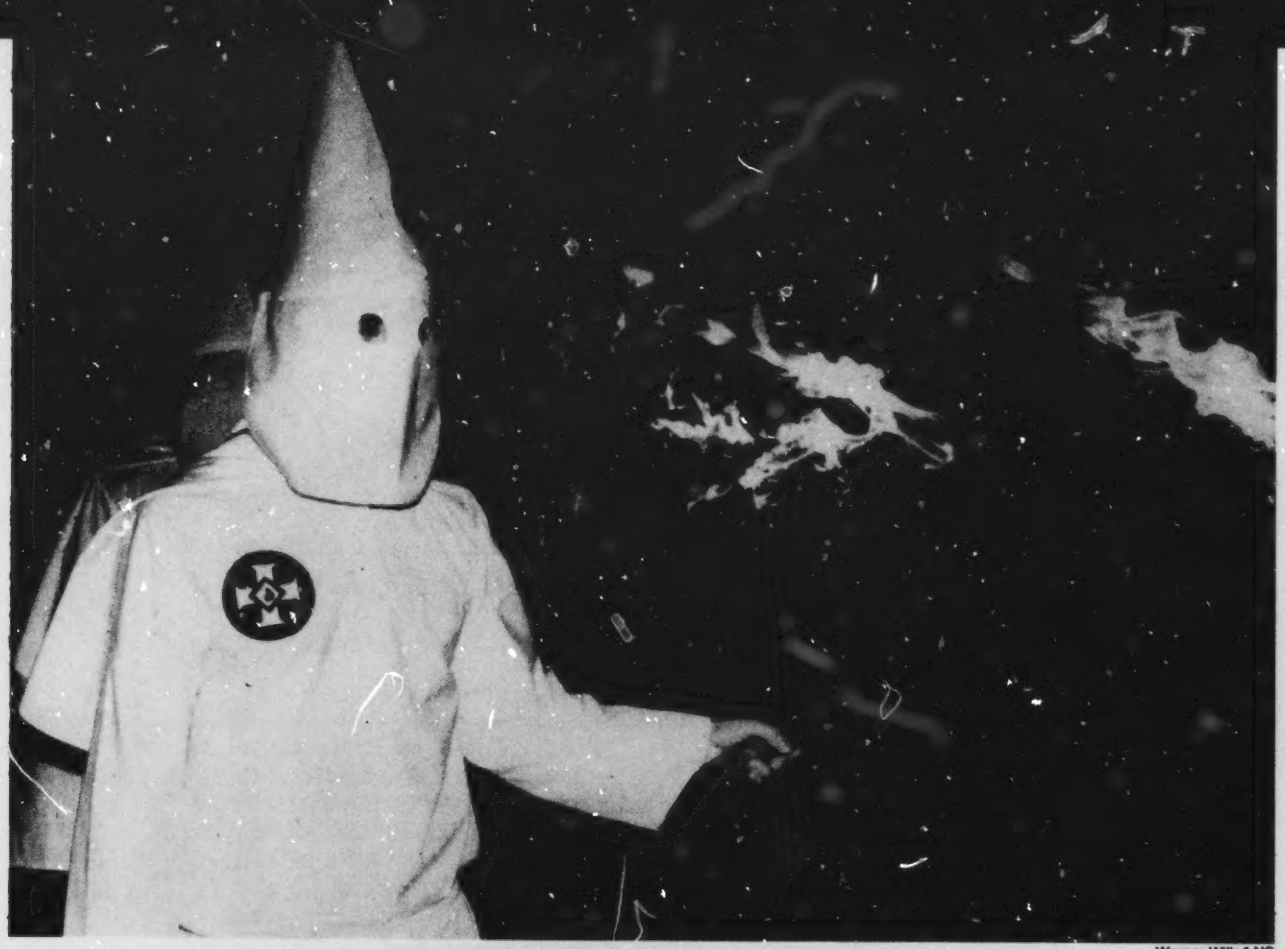


Werner Wille/LNS

Nancy Warnecke for The Tennessean

# Introduction

The issue of dealing with the Ku Klux Klan has become one which we as educators can ill afford to ignore. Even where student recruitment by the Klan is not actively taking place, media publicity has brought the image of the KKK to young people across the country.

To answer even incidental questions, to lead discussions or to present lesson units dealing with the Ku Klux Klan, teachers require reliable and accurate background information. Recognition of this urgent need led to the preparation and publication of this instructional kit for teachers.

### Hoods, Burning Crosses and Guns

The Ku Klux Klan is not an ordinary social or religious organization whose members merely meet from time to time to discuss their views in the democratic tradition of free speech and peaceable assembly. Some Klan leaders seek to portray their activities in this genteel and respectable light, but behind this mask of civility, the reality of the KKK is the fanning of hate into violence and terrorism.

Hoods, burning crosses and guns are essential marks of the Klan. From its inception, the KKK has dressed its members in robes and hoods. The apparent purpose of such costuming has been threefold: to give clandestine glamor to the group, to hide the identity of its members and to attempt to intimidate those it opposes.

The burning cross has come to be the most spectacular symbol of the Klan. Its lighting provides the climax for KKK rallies and attracts widespread media publicity. It is claimed to be a religious expression, but in actuality it stirs the passions of prejudice in participants and is used in attempts to instill fear in prospective victims.

Guns and other weapons of violence are the stock in trade of Klan members. That they are not kept quietly at home for personal protection is demonstrated by numerous instances of shootings and killings by armed Klan members. Guns are publicly paraded and brandished at rallies. They are instruments of provocation, threat and terrorism. Their purpose is not peaceful persuasion, but the infliction of fear, violent harm and death.

Klan leaders can frequently be seen today in three-piece suits at business luncheons, on television talk shows or at press conferences. Such efforts to gain acceptance from a wider audience, however, cannot cover up the core of violence which is the inevitable result of the hate and bigotry they preach.

### Basic Racist Beliefs

To apply for membership in the Invisible Empire of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan one must "swear that I am a White Person of Non-Jewish ancestry." The applicant must swear "an unqualified allegiance: First to the White Race throughout the world: Second, to my native country."

The poison of the Klan's white supremacy propaganda affects the thoughts, actions and relationships of all who are infected by it. It is the antithesis of the principle of human equality which is at the heart of the U.S. creed. Our history has been characterized by the struggle for equality. The Klan must be recognized as being directly opposed to these efforts.

The violent nature of the Klan feeds on a climate of general social acceptance of racism. The Klan uses myths and scapegoating to achieve its ends. For example, it capitalizes on economic insecurity by claiming that "reverse discrimination" in recent years has favored blacks over whites, despite the fact that the gaps between white and black income, unemployment, poverty and infant mortality have all *increased* rather than decreased.

### Expanded Threat

Today the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan, in addition to neo-Nazi and other extremist groups, has become a social and educational problem nationwide. The Klan killing of anti-Klan demonstrators in Greensboro, North Carolina, in 1979, the winning of the Democratic primary for a seat in Congress by a Klan leader in California in 1980 and the highly publicized cross-burning rally in the small New England town of Scotland, Connecticut, are examples of recent Klan activities. Such activities have helped alert many previously apathetic persons to the fact that the Klan is indeed seeking to expand its "empire" and to spread its bigotry, hatred and violence into all corners of the nation.

The Klan's current activities clearly involve efforts to recruit young people. "If you are between the ages of 10 and 17, join the Klan Youth Corps," the *Klansman* newspaper advertises. Flyers urging students to enroll in the Youth Corps if they have "had it with blacks" are distributed at public marketplaces and circulated in public schools.

The material in this handbook has been assembled with the conviction that given the proper combination of factual resource information and positive, thoughtful analysis, classroom teachers at all grade levels can be strong and effective instruments for peacefully and creatively countering the violence of the Klan and its underlying racism and for advancing the positive struggle for equality.

### Critical Sensitivity

The subject matter of this handbook and the contents of the background information and suggested lesson plans are inherently controversial. The information has been thoroughly researched and documented. The lesson plans have been developed with a full awareness of the sensitivity of the issues involved. The following special section, The Emotional Climate of the Classroom, has been prepared for teachers using this handbook. It should be carefully reviewed prior to the implementation of the instructional plans which follow the basic background information section.

Werner Wilke

# The Emotional Climate of the Classroom

There are certain problems inherent in dealing with a curriculum of this nature that it is necessary to address. This curriculum is designed for all students. It will, therefore, be taught in a variety of settings—in all-white schools, in all-black schools, in schools where the student body consists of students from several minority groups, in newly desegregated schools, and in several other situations.

This curriculum will also be used in communities in which the Klan is and has been active. It is entirely conceivable that there will be students who have been exposed to pro-Klan sentiments by significant adults in their lives. It is also conceivable that some teachers using this curriculum may find that some of their colleagues espouse pro-Klan sentiments. In addition, there may be students who themselves have been victims of Klan violence. These situations may exist singly or in combinations, creating an atmosphere of tension. It is therefore of critical importance that basic principles which guide the discussion of any controversial issue be observed.

The teacher who elects to use this curriculum will generally have sensitivity and a sense of social responsibility and be genuinely concerned about the need for teaching about the Klan and the relationship of racism and other forms of oppression to its development and resurgence. Such a teacher will assume responsibility for the type of open discussion and for the establishment of the warm and supportive classroom atmosphere so necessary for achieving the objectives of this curriculum. The teacher will want to treat this curriculum as an integral part of the total classroom experience.

Productive discussion of this controversial issue can take place only in a classroom in which the atmosphere is open and accepting. Respect for the ideas of others and appreciation of differences should be openly expressed and consistently practiced. It is also important that the total classroom environment reflect the humanistic values and anti-racist attitudes implicit in this curriculum in terms of visual displays, classroom assignments and activity groupings.

Teachers may experience discomfort in dealing with the racist nature of the society and its role in the development and resurgence of the Klan. Part of this discomfort may arise from the teacher's own anxiety about his or her ability to deal with the material and part may be due to fears of creating conflict within those students who may have already been conditioned to accept the Klan's racist utterances. There may also be fear of opening up discussion which would provide opportunities for the expression of racist beliefs. For these reasons, it is important that the procedures for exploring this material in the classroom be followed as outlined. No definite blueprint for handling all of these situations can be provided. Neither should the teacher feel that he or she is expected to provide all of the answers. The provision for open discussion as outlined in the procedures will aid students in understanding the role of racism in the development of the Klan, and the ways in which the Klan presents a clear and present danger to a democratic society. Students are encouraged to use their faculties of critical thinking to analyze the Klan's role in society, the false bases of its assumptions, the fallacies in its recruiting arguments and its racist philosophy. Constructive examination of all of these issues will advance the objectives of this curriculum and move the students forward as they develop skills in analyzing the role and function of the Klan and the danger it represents to our society.

In order to work with this curriculum effectively and to be able to accept challenging statements from the students, the teacher needs to have a sense of security. This can only come through familiarity with the background information and procedures presented in this book. It is recommended that great care be taken in the preparation of each lesson and that the procedures be followed exactly as outlined—at least until everyone is participating comfortably. This will go far toward reducing anxiety and allow teacher and pupil alike to concentrate their energies on the examination of the Klan as the enemy of democratic ideals.

# Background Information

## A. POST-CIVIL WAR

Slavery ended after the Civil War with the ratification of the 13th Amendment in 1865.[1] However, the governments of the ex-Confederate states—controlled by the pro-slavery Democratic party which had governed before the war—soon created what were called the Black Codes. Although somewhat different in each state, the Black Codes generally deprived newly freed blacks of the right to vote, hold office, serve on juries, testify in court against whites or assemble without official permission. Central to all the Codes were regulations restricting the freedom of blacks to work.

The South Carolina Code, for example, required blacks to have a special license for any job except farmhand or servant, and it required an annual tax of from $10 to $100 for the license. Mississippi's Code forbade blacks to rent or lease land. Louisiana's required all agricultural workers to make contracts with employers during the first ten days of each January. Workers could not leave their employers until the contract expired, and refusal to work was punished by forced labor. The Black Codes thus enabled wealthy whites who owned big plantations to make blacks work for little or no pay, thus virtually reenslaving them.

## B. RECONSTRUCTION ERA

Some Republicans in Congress were genuinely concerned about the treatment of blacks and feared that the hard-won gains of the war would be lost. Other Republicans worried that with blacks now counted as whole persons yet denied the vote, Southern whites would have increased representation in Congress, enabling the Democratic party to win control. Others deeply resented the South for the bloodshed and destruction of the Civil War. Thus from motives of justice, party-interest and vengeance, Republicans responded decisively to Southern developments.

In 1867, Congress passed the First Reconstruction Act, which invalidated the Black Codes, placed the South under military rule, and mandated elections in which all males over 18—black and white—could vote (some white men who held public office before secession and then supported the rebellion against the United States were disqualified from voting). These elections were to select delegates to state conventions that would draft new constitutions for each of the former Confederate states. In order to be accepted back into the Union, the newly reorganized states would have to ratify the 14th Amendment, which provided all citizens equal protection under the law. The U.S. Army was to protect the freedpeople from those whites who wanted to prevent them from exercising their newly gained rights.

Reconstruction lasted ten years. During that time, a coalition of blacks, poor whites and some Northern Republicans who had moved South enacted far-reaching political and social reforms in the constitutional conventions and newly elected legislatures of the South. The new state constitutions provided universal male suffrage (a few state constitutions disfranchised some former public officials who supported secession, but the disqualifications were minor and temporary). This gave the vote for the first time to newly freed black men, as well as to thousands of poor whites, who before the Civil War had been deprived of the vote because of property-ownership qualifications. For the first time, Southern states provided free public schools for all children, a gain not only for black children but for tens of thousands of poor white children who previously had been denied education. The property rights of women were protected, divorce laws written and imprisonment for debt abolished. Orphanages, asylums for the insane and schools for blind and deaf people were established.[2]

Blacks were involved in all the state conventions that drafted the new constitutions, and many were elected to the new state legislatures. Contrary to the myth of "Black Rule" promoted by those whites who opposed the social and political changes, blacks made up a majority of the representatives in only one state —South Carolina—and then only in one house of the legislature. During Reconstruction, blacks were elected lieutenant governor in three states and served in various positions—such as secretary of state and state treasurer—in others. Twenty blacks were elected to the U.S. House of Representatives and two blacks served in the U.S. Senate.

During Reconstruction, some blacks and whites worked together raising food for their families, and some pooled their money and bought land. Most poor whites, however, had little to do with blacks. For the most part, poor whites had hated slavery, seeing it as the cause of their poverty. However, their anger had been directed more toward the black slaves, whose la-

[1]The Emancipation Proclamation had had limited impact because it applied only to areas outside Union control, while the 13th Amendment applied to the entire country.

[2]For additional information on the reforms of the Reconstruction era, see: Lerone Bennett, Jr., *Black Power USA: The Human Side of Reconstruction* (Chicago: Johnson Publications, 1967); W. E. B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America, 1860-1880* (New York: Atheneum, 1962); John Hope Franklin, *Reconstruction After the Civil War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961); and Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Era of Reconstruction, 1865-1877* (New York: Knopf, 1965).

bor they saw as competition, than at the white slavocracy that dominated and exploited both groups for its own benefit. Oppressive as their lives were, white supremacy had given them the illusion of benefit by telling them that at least they were superior to blacks. This sense of white superiority and prejudice against blacks was deeply ingrained.

Most poor whites were either tenant farmers on large plantations or owned their own small plots of land, usually in the least fertile hill or mountain areas. These were all that remained after the development of large plantations pushed white small farmers out of the most fertile areas. After the war, there was talk of breaking up the massive plantations and dividing them among the roughly 4 million blacks and 5 million poor whites. Such land reform would no doubt have encouraged large numbers of poor whites to cooperate more fully with Reconstruction efforts. However, the federal government (which was then giving away millions and millions of acres of land to immigrant homesteaders and to railroad owners) refused to take this decisive step.

With land to farm, the freedpeople—who had been forced to work all their lives without pay—would have had the economic independence necessary to secure their political rights. Some successful farming communities of freedpeople developed in areas where they had access to land. For example, in 1863 the Mississippi plantations of Jefferson Davis and his brother were divided, and 70 freedpeople were given 30 acres each, while a black regiment protected them from Confederates. This "Davis Bend" program was so successful that by 1865 another 5,000 acres were given to 1,800 blacks organized into 181 companies. The government supplied equipment and supplies, which were paid for when crops were sold. The people opened stores, established a school, set up a government, and provided free medical services to all who could not afford a doctor. In 1865 they cleared $160,000 after paying expenses. But such successful ventures were destroyed when the ex-Confederates were pardoned by the federal government and given back the land.

For both blacks and poor whites, the Reconstruction era offered hope of significant improvement in their lives. It was a period in which the South—indeed the nation as a whole—came closer to being a truly democratic society than ever before. But the social and political changes were not welcomed by those who wanted to regain their former privileges and power. Their appeal to poor whites for race solidarity, backed by years of intensive racist indoctrination and by great social and economic pressure to stay in line, kept most poor whites aligned with those of similar skin color, rather than with those in a similar economic position. Control of the land and most resources enabled wealthy whites to pressure many blacks, who were economically dependent on them, not to exercise their political rights. Yet in spite of this economic and social power, significant numbers of blacks and many poor whites continued to struggle to build a more just, free and democratic society. The response was a campaign of terror, violence and intimidation designed to crush these social changes and restore the former elite to power.

## C. BIRTH OF THE KU KLUX KLAN

After the Civil War, there was a great deal of turmoil and devastation in the South. In addition, 4 million enslaved people were now free. Even before the Black Codes were adopted, a variety of white vigilante and terrorist groups, determined to keep blacks under white control, had sprung up across the South.

These groups had their genesis in the prewar slave patrols. The ubiquitous slave patrols had been a semi-official force, required to police 4 million enslaved people who lost no opportunity to escape from or rebel against the dehumanization and oppression of chattel slavery. In most of the slave states, the patrols played a major role in the system of control, and almost all adult white men, whether or not they were slaveowners, were liable for periodic patrol service, generally performed at night, on horseback. The "paterollers,"[3] as an integral part of their duties, bullied, whipped, beat and intimidated blacks, searched their homes and broke up gatherings.

In late 1865 or early 1866, six veterans of the Confederate Army formed a secret organization in Pulaski, Tennessee. They called it the Ku Klux Klan (the name supposedly derives from the Greek word for circle, *kuklos*, to which they added *klan*). While claiming to be a social club, they were soon expressing resentment at the changes taking place in Southern society. The Klan began to fight these changes, attempting to

[3]Term used by the slaves.

Library of Congress

*During Reconstruction, public schools were provided for the first time for blacks and poor whites. There was an enormous response by blacks, who craved the learning denied them under slavery.*

Culver Pictures

*Klan terror was directed against blacks and whites working to build democracy. Blacks who were successful leaders, public officials, farmers or teachers were particular targets of violence.*

restore the old ways of white supremacy.

In the spring of 1867, delegates from Klans throughout Tennessee gathered at the newest hotel in Nashville. They were businessmen, former Confederate officers and leaders of church and state. They chose Nathan Bedford Forrest to be Grand Wizard. A former slave trader, Forrest had served as a Confederate cavalry officer; his activities included the command of troops attacking Fort Pillow (near Memphis), garrisoned by black soldiers, in April 1864. The Fort Pillow Massacre epitomized the Confederate practice of executing captured black soldiers. Wholesale slaughter, accompanied by every sort of atrocity, followed the capture of the Fort. Approximately three hundred soldiers, plus women and children dependents, were brutally murdered.

The Klan was to become a night-riding vigilante organization for white supremacy. Under Forrest's leadership, it quickly expanded throughout the South. The Klan recruited whites—particularly poor whites—by appealing to racial prejudice and beliefs in white superiority. The Klan used violence and terror to intimidate blacks and those whites who were working to build democracy. The old ruling elite of the South supported the growth of the Klan, seeing an opportunity to regain its political power and keep black labor (and ultimately that of poor whites) under its control.

### Terrorist Activities

Klansmen dressed themselves in white or black robes and wore masks and hoods. By hiding their identity, the masks made it psychologically easier for members to commit atrocities and lessened their chance of getting caught. Victims were sometimes lynched by a mob that dragged them from their beds at night, hung them from trees, beat them and then lit fires under them while they were still alive. Women were raped and children were often beaten or killed. Black homes, churches and schools were burned.[4]

Klan terror was particularly directed at blacks who had become successful leaders, public officials, teachers and farmers—individuals whose achievements and work clearly undermined the concept of black inferiority and threatened white supremacy. The Klan assassinated the most competent and daring black leaders and terrorized and drove out teachers who were helping black people fulfill their great desire for education. The Klan sought to beat down blacks who stood up for their rights, to prevent blacks from gathering to discuss concerns and to keep black labor under white control. From 1866 to 1875, the Klan killed an estimated 3,500 blacks in the South and whipped, beat, tarred and feathered many thousands more. Many whites who were friendly or worked with blacks, or who supported the Republican party, received the same treatment.

Klan terror was especially great before elections. The Klan used assassination, beatings and intimidation to terrify blacks, Republicans and sympathetic poor whites and keep them from voting, thus enabling the Democratic party to regain control in state after state. North Carolina provides an example of the type of Klan activities that destroyed democracy across the South. As a result of a campaign of terror, 12,000 fewer Republicans voted in 1870 than in previous elections, and Democrats regained control of the legislature. One writer described events in North Carolina as follows:

> District attorneys, jury commissioners, sheriffs, many judges, and leading citizens of the community were members or supporters of the Klan. It was a secret, highly organized, well-disciplined underground army. And it was determined to take control of the state out of the hands of blacks, poor whites, and Republicans. . . .
>
> The 1870 election was the Klan's target. On the night of February 26 they rode into Alamance and hanged Wyatt Outlaw, leader of the Republican party in the county. Outlaw was a black, a skilled mechanic, town commissioner, and leader of a local campaign to get a church and a school for the black community. They hanged him from an oak tree less than one hundred feet from [the] courthouse.
>
> In Caswell County, the other Republican stronghold, the head of the party was a poor white man named John Stephens. Five men, all wealthy and educated, trapped him, strangled him, stabbed him, and threw his body on a woodpile.
>
> The terror spread throughout the state during 1870. . . . By election day the work of the Klan had been done. Thousands of Republicans stayed away from the polls. The Democrats won the election and took control of the state legislature. One of the first laws they passed granted amnesty to anyone who had committed a crime on behalf of a secret white organization.[5]

[4] See first-hand testimony on Klan terror, pp. 33-36.

[5] Richard Stiller, *The White Minority: Pioneers for Racial Equality* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1977), pp. 38-39.

Far too few federal troops were stationed in the South to protect the exercise of democratic rights, and blacks, poor whites and Republicans became the easy targets of a violent counterrevolution of terror and assassination carried out by white men determined to regain power. Appeals to Washington from state officials and desperate citizens for additional troops were repeatedly turned down. Blacks had few guns to begin with, since they had been forbidden weapons during slavery and most were too poor to purchase them after the war. Sometimes those who did have guns were stripped of them by white sheriffs who either sympathized with or belonged to the Klan. Nonetheless, blacks attempted to resist the return of white supremacy and to defend themselves in whatever ways possible. (Reports about the removal of federal troops from South Carolina, for example, mention black women carrying axes or hatchets hanging at their sides half-concealed by their aprons and dresses.)

Finally, Washington took some action against the white terrorists. After congressional hearings exposed the severity of Klan violence, Congress passed a series of laws making it a federal crime for individuals to deprive other citizens of their constitutional rights. The Ku Klux Klan Act of 1871 imposed heavy penalties on persons "who shall conspire together, or go in disguise . . . for the purpose . . . of depriving any persons of the equal protection of the laws, or of equal privileges or immunities under the law." In areas where the federal government acted, there was a sharp decline in terror. Where no determined force was brought to bear, the terror rapidly spread.

Some Republican officials attempted to prosecute Klansmen in federal court. There were many arrests, but relatively few convictions. Witnesses, juries, judges and sheriffs were all too often members or sympathizers of the Klan. However, by 1873 the Klan began to decline. In part this was due to the federal action. In part it was because the need for the Klan diminished once its violence and terror succeeded, enabling white supremacists (sometimes called Redeemers) to regain control of state governments, courts and police. In states like Mississippi, where Republican rule outlived the Klan, mobs of armed, unmasked white men replaced the Klan, openly terrorizing and killing blacks and reform-minded whites and preventing free elections.

## D. DEATH OF RECONSTRUCTION

Democratic party (white supremacist) control was reestablished in Tennessee in 1869, North Carolina and Virginia in 1870, Georgia in 1871, Alabama, Arkansas and Texas in 1874, Mississippi in 1876, and South Carolina, Florida and Louisiana in 1877. Back in power, the white elite no longer needed the Klan, for suppression of blacks could be accomplished by official, "legal" means. New state constitutional conventions began to take away the rights black people had gained during Reconstruction. Over time, "Jim Crow"[6] laws were passed, creating a massive system of segregation—separation of the races—in almost every area of life, with blacks consistently receiving inferior facilities, services and treatment.

The Klan as an organization of hooded terrorists had disappeared, but white terror (or "Ku-Kluxing") continued. Lynching of blacks by white mobs became a regular aspect of Southern racial control, with thousands of blacks lynched from 1890 to 1910. The terror reached a peak in the 1890's, when the white elite was threatened by a developing coalition of black and white tenant farmers and sharecroppers working on common interests and problems through the Populist party. However, racist appeals to poor whites, backed up by violent intimidation, defeated the potentially powerful coalition that could have improved life for both poor whites and blacks.

Had the North been determined to protect blacks' rights, the history of Reconstruction would have been very different, as would current racial divisions and inequities. However, whites in the North were more interested in national unity than in securing democratic rights for blacks in the South—or in the North, for that matter. Northern businessmen, especially railroad and factory owners, wanted a quick return to stable, secure governments in the South to provide a better climate for business, and Northern business was very influential in the Republican party.

In 1877, the Republicans made a deal with the white elite in the South. In a very close, contested presidential election, the Southern Democrats agreed to support Rutherford B. Hayes, the Republican candidate, provided that once in office, he would remove the last of the U.S. troops from the three Southern states in which they remained. With the removal of these troops, Reconstruction was over, and white supremacy was firmly established once again. Over the next 40 years, as the South extended segregation and denied blacks more and more rights, the North acquiesced. The U.S. Supreme Court declared much of the Reconstruction legislation unconstitutional and, perverting the clear intent of the 14th Amendment, failed to enforce the requirement that "no state shall deprive any citizen of equal protection under the law." Instead, the Court used the Amendment in a number of cases to reinforce and protect business interests. By 1913, even the federal government had implemented segregated washrooms and eating facilities for its employees.[7]

[6]Term derives from a minstrel song.

[7]For further discussion of federal complicity, see Rayford Logan, *The Betrayal of the Negro: From Rutherford B. Hayes to Woodrow Wilson* (New York: Collier Books, 1967). For discussion of Supreme Court actions, see Howard Meyer, *The Amendment That Refused to Die* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1978).

## E. THE KLAN REORGANIZES

White supremacists were the victors in what has been called the Reconstruction War and, as usual, the victors wrote the history of the conflict. By 1900, a white supremacist interpretation of Reconstruction was generally accepted by white historians throughout the country.

This interpretation ignored Reconstruction efforts to build a multiracial democracy, claiming that the vanquished South had been ruthlessly ruled by illiterate blacks and their corrupt Northern allies who embezzled state treasuries, denied whites the vote and tyrannized whites until the gallant Klan arose to "save" the South. In fact, many black officials were well educated and as a group they served at least as well as whites who preceded or followed them. As for "Black Rule," blacks were a majority only in one house of one Southern state legislature (South Carolina). Overall, only a small percentage of white males—those who had been public officials before secession—were disfranchised for their role in the rebellion. Government corruption was a national problem during the period, not a characteristic of multiracial government. "Saving" the South was a euphemism for the restoration of white domination that ignored the existence of the South's sizable black population.

In 1915, the white supremacist view of Reconstruction received dramatic and widespread dissemination. The epic movie *Birth of a Nation* captivated millions of whites around the country with its tale of "heroic" Klansmen saving white "civilization" from brutal blacks and their scheming white allies. The film's enormous success contributed to the rebirth of the Klan and to its phenomenal rise in membership and influence over the next decade.

### Rapid Social Changes

With the coming of World War I, new jobs opened up in the North and Midwest, and many Southern blacks left the South to seek employment. They worked in steel factories and mines in the North and West. Many also fought in the U.S. Army in Europe. At the end of the War, the black veterans—360,000 strong—expected something from the government for which they had fought to "help make the world safe for democracy." Yet, in the first year after World War I alone, 76 blacks were lynched, many of them still in their U.S. military uniforms. There were "race riots" (generally white attacks on blacks) in many cities—including Chicago, Washington, D.C., and Tulsa—in what became known as the Red Summer of 1919.

Rapid social changes were taking place in the years around 1920. The Russian Revolution had recently occurred. While many people in the United States cheered the overthrow of the Czar, others, particularly those in positions of power, felt threatened. Their fear of Communism led to many illegal arrests and detentions of people during what is known as the Red Scare. Many workers were organizing into militant unions and striking to improve their economic positions. The country experienced an economic depression in the first years of the 1920's. Women finally won the vote in 1920 after years of struggle. There was a new spirit of black freedom and "renaissance," a period of great cultural activity, with black poets, writers and playwrights strongly asserting their demands for a better life. Lifestyles and morals were changing. Prohibition had been enacted, though there was widespread disregard for the ban on alcohol. Large-scale immigration of Southern and Eastern Europeans (primarily Catholic and Jewish) resumed after a halt caused by the war. Almost 1 million immigrants arrived in 1920-21 alone.

Racism and anti-Semitism were both widespread and respectable. Eminent college professors, scientists, clergy and government officials wrote and spoke frequently about the inferiority of people of color, of Southern and Eastern Europeans, and of Jews and Catholics, while claiming the superiority of white, Protestant, Northern European peoples. They asserted that "Americans" (meaning white Protestants of Northern European background) were not only superior but were in danger of being overwhelmed by the large-scale immigration of people they claimed were inferior.[8]

### Reactions to Social Changes

While many welcomed social change, seeing the potential for improvement in their lives, others felt threatened and worried that the country was falling apart. Those in positions of power in government, industry and the media played on people's anxieties and concerns to build resistance to the changes and to reestablish "stability." There was a strong revival of fundamentalist Christianity.

At this time, the Ku Klux Klan again arose and led an attack on the new spirit of liberation, promising to defend "100 percent Americanism." The Klan of this period, called the Invisible Empire of the Ku Klux Klan, had been reestablished in 1915 with a cross-burning ceremony on Stone Mountain in Georgia. It became the largest KKK organization in history—estimates of its membership in the early 1920's range from 3½ to 5 million members. It was a time when exclusionary fraternal organizations were very popular. Those who reestablished the Klan promoted it as such a fraternal order. They sold memberships as well as uniforms and other paraphernalia and became very rich. Businessmen, clergy, public officials, judges, police and other "respectable" members of communities were the mainstay of the Klan in the 1920's.

[8]For further discussion of racist ideology in this period see Thomas F. Gossett, *Race: The History of an Idea in America* (New York: Schocken Books, 1970), chapters XIV and XV.

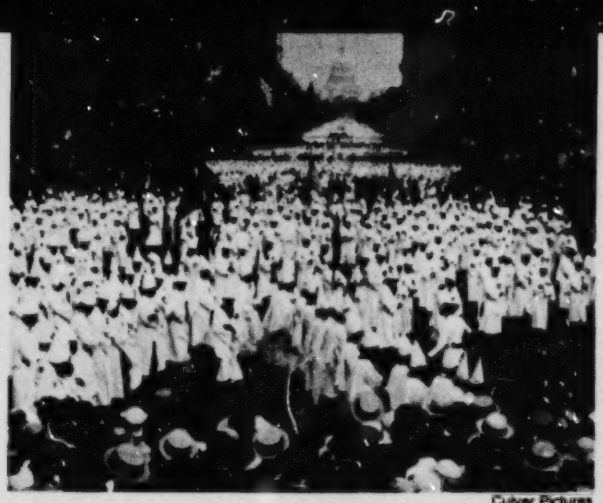
In addition to blacks, the Klan attacked immigrants, Catholics, Jews, union organizers and anyone—including white Protestants—who believed in and acted to bring about equal treatment for all people. The Klan claimed to stand for "100 percent Americanism," a phrase which could mean whatever those using it or hearing it wanted. Mainly it stood for white, Protestant supremacy. "Catholics, you are not Americans"[9] was one KKK slogan. "The only way to cure a Catholic is to kill him"[10] was another. In many places, the Klan organized boycotts of Catholic and Jewish businesses. At a time when many women had been struggling to win the vote and were entering the workforce and gaining more independence (as well as adopting new hair and clothing styles), the Klan called for "Pure Womanhood" and warned "bad women" of dire consequences. The Klan also fought bootleggers and those who publicly consumed alcohol. In all cases, the Klan acted as the judge, jury and enforcer of public morals.

The Klan's anti-Catholicism and anti-Semitism brought it wide support in rural areas where there were few blacks and often few Jews or Catholics. The Klan was extremely powerful throughout the country, particularly in the South, Midwest and West. Parades of robed and hooded Klansmen and Klanswomen were held, often with the cooperation of the police, who might dim the street lights so that burning crosses would be more effective. There were hundreds of floggings and "tar-and-feather" parties, where victims—blacks, immigrants, "sinful" white women and men—were beaten and their wounds stuffed with hot tar and feathers. From Maine to Indiana to Oregon, Klansmen or Klan-supported candidates won local, state and federal public offices, and race hatred and religious bigotry were at a high pitch. After Klan-supported candidates won control of the Oregon legislature and governorship in 1922, they passed a law that in effect would have abolished parochial schools (the Supreme Court ruled it unconstitutional).[11]

### The Klan Declines

By 1925, the Klan movement had begun to dwindle. By then, laws severely restricting the immigration of Eastern and Southern Europeans, Japanese and other people of color had been passed. Unions such as the Industrial Workers of the World, which had successfully organized across the country, had been greatly weakened by government harassment. Economic prosperity had returned to many.

Internal power struggles and corrupt and criminal conduct by Klan leaders contributed to the Klan's decline. The Klan had attempted to impose its interpretation of morality on all, yet Klan leaders were often exposed practicing in private what they denounced in public. The Klan's decline was hastened when some newspapers began to expose its lawlessness, corruption and the contradictions between what it claimed to stand for and what in fact it was.



Culver Pictures

*In 1925, some 40,000 Klan members paraded in Washington, D.C., while a crowd of 200,000 watched.*

## F. THE KLAN—1930 TO 1954

Klan activities in the 1930's were primarily in the South, with particular focus on union organizing and "Communism"—which the Klan saw everywhere, particularly in the activities of President Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal. The Klan directed its terror at efforts of white and black tenant farmers and sharecroppers to organize to improve their lives.

After World War II, blacks—who had contributed so much to the world fight for freedom against tyranny—redoubled their efforts to combat racial injustice in the U.S. The arrival of Europeans, particularly Jewish refugees, from war-torn Europe aroused bigoted segments of the population. Both the AFL and the CIO sent hundreds of organizers into the South in 1946 to organize low-paid Southern workers. Again, the Klan arose, strongly anti-black, anti-Catholic, anti-Jewish and anti-union. Terroristic attacks and cross burnings increased as the organization grew.

In 1949, the Grand Dragon of the predominant Klan faction died. Dissension, fragmentation and violence increased. The Klan's brutality brought condemnation from clergy, politicians, newspapers and civic organizations. The official, legal machinery of government in the South was firmly under the control of white supremacists, and the Klan's violence (including brutal attacks on whites whose behavior the Klan found "immoral") was unacceptable even to many white supremacists. State and federal officials often prosecuted Klan lawlessness. Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, Florida and many cities in the South passed laws outlawing the wearing of masks. The Klan was beaten back, but segregation and white supremacy remained strong.

[9]Robert P. Ingalls, *Hoods: The Story of the Ku Klux Klan* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1979), p. 46.

[10]Ibid., p. 39.

[11]Ibid., p. 40.

## G. THE CIVIL RIGHTS ERA

The 1950's witnessed the growth of a great drive for equal rights in the South. In 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court declared segregation in schools to be unconstitutional. In 1955, in Montgomery, Alabama, Rosa Parks was arrested for refusing to give up her bus seat to a white as blacks had been required to do since Jim Crow segregation laws had been enacted in the late 1800's. A nine-month boycott of the Montgomery buses, led by the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., finally ended bus segregation. The victory gave impetus to the struggle against all Jim Crow laws in the South and shaped the thrust of nonviolent resistance to segregation that characterized much of the struggle for civil rights.

During the 1960's, sit-ins, Freedom Rides and thousands of demonstrations and marches by blacks (and some whites) challenged the Jim Crow laws. They forced, over the next few years, the desegregation of libraries, bus stations, parks, restaurants, swimming pools and all other places of public accommodation in the South.

### Another Klan Revival

The Klan began to rise again. The U.S. Justice Department reported that, from 1954 to 1965, the Klan was responsible for 70 bombings in Georgia and Mississippi (30 of them of black churches in Mississippi) and 50 bombings in Montgomery, Alabama. The 1963 Klan bombing of a Baptist church in Birmingham, Alabama, killed four little black girls as they attended Sunday school. Many synagogues were targets of Klan bombings during this period.

Terror was a constant reality during this period of civil rights struggles. Thousands of arrests, beatings and acts of harassment were carried out against the Movement. The Klan was again at work, but its role was less critical than in other times. Unlike the Reconstruction period, Southern state governments now were firmly in the control of racists, and they did not hesitate to use the full police and legal power of the state to fight the drive for freedom. Governors vowed "segregation forever." Alabama's Governor George Wallace promised to stand in the schoolhouse doorway in 1963 to physically block implementation of the Court's order to desegregate, while Georgia's Governor Lester Maddox publicly distributed ax handles, a reminder of those used to beat black demonstrators at his restaurant before his election. Police chiefs like "Bull" Connor in Birmingham, Alabama, shocked the country and much of the world with their brutal use of billy clubs, police dogs, cattle prods and high-pressure fire hoses against nonviolent civil rights demonstrators. Because white supremacy was the law and practice of the South, whites could openly oppose struggles

Wide World

*White supremacist officials often responded to nonviolent civil rights demonstrators with high-pressure fire hoses, police dogs, etc. Above, a scene in Birmingham, Alabama.*

for freedom. Instead of joining or providing much covert support to the Klan, middle-class whites by the tens of thousands (including businessmen and politicians) joined the White Citizens Councils, which operated openly to defend white supremacy and fight integration.

### "Law Enforcement's" Participation

When the Klan did act, it was often as an extension of law enforcement agencies—a role reminiscent of the slave patrols from which the Klan evolved. An example of this relationship took place in Philadelphia, Mississippi, in 1964. Three civil-rights workers —James Chaney, Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner (one black man and two white men, all in their early twenties)—were arrested by sheriff's officials on a false charge. They were held until nightfall, then released after a trap had been set. Members of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, including the deputy sheriff, stopped their car on a back road, murdered them and buried their bodies under a dam being constructed in the area. This case became a national scandal and rallied much international support for black people, yet it was only one of hundreds of such semi-official acts of terror against the civil-rights workers in Mississippi and elsewhere.

In addition to involvement by many local "law enforcement" officials in attacks on the Civil Rights Movement, there is evidence of complicity by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Evidence indicates that the F.B.I. director, J. Edgar Hoover, knew in advance that the Birmingham police and the Klan were plotting to ambush Freedom Riders arriving at the Birmingham bus terminal in May 1961. Hoover was informed that the police had promised the Klan 15 to 20 minutes to beat the riders and that police commissioner "Bull" Connor wanted the riders beaten until "it looked like a bulldog got hold of them." Not only did the Bureau take no action to prevent the attack, but an F.B.I. informer, armed with a lead-weighted baseball bat, was a leader in the Klan's vicious beating of the Freedom Riders. In addition to his possible implication in the 1963 church bombing in Birmingham, this same informer was one of four Klansmen in the car from which a bullet was fired, killing Viola Liuzzo, a white woman from Detroit, as she was driving between Selma and Montgomery, Alabama, after a civil rights demonstration in 1965.

According to a U.S. Justice Department report, Hoover twice blocked prosecution of four Klansmen identified by F.B.I. agents as the bombers who killed the four black girls at church in Birmingham in 1963. He also withheld information about the bombing from his superiors in the Justice Department. A fifth suspect, who agents were convinced was involved, was nonetheless hired by the F.B.I. as a paid informer two months after the children were killed. Agents knew while this informer was on the F.B.I. payroll that he engaged in attacks on blacks.[12]

### The Second Reconstruction

National and world-wide revulsion to the violence against civil rights workers caused the U.S. Congress to pass the Voting Rights Act of 1965, providing federal protection of voting rights in the South. Literacy tests, poll taxes and the other devices that had kept blacks (and some poorly educated whites) from voting were declared illegal. Major civil rights legislation was passed, once again—as in the 1860's—providing blacks with the rights other citizens considered inalienable.

Blacks openly fought the Klan. In 1957, police refused to stop armed masked riders who nightly drove through the black community in Monroe, South Carolina, intimidating the residents. Blacks decided to defend themselves and opened fire on the Klansmen one night—putting an end to that Klan activity. Native Americans in Robeson County, North Carolina, used the same self-defense strategy several months later. In 1965, the black Deacons for Defense was organized in Jonesboro, Louisiana, to patrol its own community nightly in defense against Klan night riders.

By the end of the 1960's, pressure from blacks, with the support of many whites, brought an end to Jim Crow laws and established legal guarantees of black people's civil rights. However, entrenched discrimination in all areas of society remained to be challenged, a much more difficult task. Discriminatory policies and practices in areas such as housing, education and employment continue to deny blacks equal access and equal opportunities. Understanding how these policies and practices function is much more difficult than recognizing overt Jim Crow laws and segregation. Trying to change the policies and practices that provide whites with special benefits and privileges in areas such as housing, education and jobs is to assault the very heart of white supremacy. The late 1960's saw the rise of widespread white resistance to such change—referred to as white backlash. This resistance grew during the 1970's.

## H. THE KLAN TODAY

After many years of low membership, the Klan is rising again. In 1980, Klan membership was estimated at about 10,000, with perhaps 100,000 sympathizers—up roughly 25 percent over 1978. As in the past, the Klan consists of several competing factions with different leaders. The Anti-Defamation League reports that the largest factions and their estimated 1979 membership figures are:

The United Klans of America (3,500-4,000 members);

[12]See "F.B.I. Cover-Up Seen in 60's Klan Attacks," *New York Times*, February 17, 1980, and "Federal Report Says Hoover Barred Trial for Klansmen in '63 Bombing," *New York Times*, February 18, 1980.

The Invisible Empire, Knights of the KKK (2,000-2,500 members);
The Knights of the KKK (1,500-2,000 members); and
The Confederation of Independent Orders of the Invisible Empire, Knights of the KKK (1,500 members).

The Klan is active throughout the country, with vigorous recruitment proceeding in at least 22 states. The Klan is growing most quickly in the South. The Klan is no longer as anti-Catholic as it once was, and some factions now accept Catholics as members. Klan groups believe in white supremacy and are anti-Semitic, anti-gay and anti-immigrant. Most oppose the efforts of women to win equal rights; they engage in violence and terror to enforce their hatreds, viewpoints and interests. The head of the Invisible Empire encourages members to carry weapons and boasts, "They're not for rabbit hunting; they are to waste people."[13] Some factions work closely with U.S. Nazi groups and have connections with fascist, neo-Nazi groups in Europe that have engaged in bombings and violence.

The U.S. Justice Department reported a 55 percent increase in Klan-related cases investigated in 1980 over the previous year. Paramilitary camps and clandestine training sites, where Klan members learn how to handle a variety of deadly weapons and practice guerrilla warfare tactics, have been reported in Alabama, Connecticut, North Carolina and Texas. Numerous instances of Klan/police linkage have been reported. Racist attacks on blacks, including killings in Buffalo, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, Salt Lake City, Atlanta, New York City, Mobile, Boston, and elsewhere may not necessarily be directly attributable to the Klan, but they reflect the heightening of racial violence advocated and promoted by the Klan. Similarly, Klan anti-Semitism helped fan the hatred that led to a 20-year record high of anti-Semitic violence and vandalism in 1980. Calls for the death of Jews, people of color, gay people and whites who work for racial justice are found in literature distributed by the Klan.

Today, as in the past, the Klan often attempts to cover its violent terrorist nature with a veneer of respectability. Klan leaders in three-piece suits have received a great deal of exposure from the media, which too often provide them a forum to spout their messages of hate rather than investigating and exposing the violence and law-breaking in which they engage. An acknowledged Klan leader won the Democratic primary for a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives in California's largest congressional district, and he then received 14 percent of the vote in the final election in the fall of 1980. At the same time, a former Klansman and neo-Nazi won the Republican primary for a congressional seat from Michigan and received 32 percent of the vote in the final election.

[13] *New York Times*, March 15, 1979.

### The Klan Targets Youth

Most Klan factions are attempting to recruit young people ages 10 through 17 into various Klan Youth Corps. Places in which Youth Corps are known to exist or which are known targets for recruitment efforts include San Diego, San Bernardino and Los Angeles, California; Denver, Colorado; Chicago and Peoria, Illinois; Jefferson, Indiana; Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; Hillsborough County, Florida; Birmingham, Tuscaloosa, Tuscumbia and Decatur, Alabama.

"Are you 'fed up to here' with Black, Chicano and Yang criminals who break into lockers, and steal your clothes and wallets?" asks a leaflet distributed at high schools by the Knights of the KKK. "Have you 'had it' with blacks following you home to beat you up. . . ? Are you 'fed up' with special privileges given to blacks by the School Administration. . . ? Are you really 'uptight' because White girls have to submit to being molested by crowds of grinning black thugs?" asks the Invisible Empire in its literature to youth. The answer is the Klan Youth Corps, "fighting for White students and their interests." The Corps' goals include organizing "White Youth in every school along racial lines," a "'Get Tough' policy with arrogant non-Whites," and "segregation of classes, followed by eventual segregation of schools."

The Klan attempts to exploit racial tensions in schools; for example, Klan members leafleted schools in Boston as they opened under court-ordered desegregation. Another aspect of Klan Youth activity is reflected in the 1977 baseball bat attack by high school youth on patrons of a gay bar in Oklahoma City. (One Klan leader stated that he was drumming into Youth Corps members that there are other uses for baseball bats than hitting home runs.[14]) Klan youth also receive weapons training. Some 30 boys and girls were indoctrinated with racism and learned the use of guns at a Klan paramilitary camp in Alabama in the summer of 1979. About 12 to 30 Explorer Scouts and Civil Air Patrol Cadets attended a KKK "survival camp" in Texas in 1980, where they learned how to handle guns and strangle and decapitate people.[15]

### The Klan in the Armed Forces

The KKK has also been active in organizing in the U.S. Armed Forces. In 1976, an organized KKK group was discovered in the Marines' Camp Pendleton in California, after racial violence erupted. Klansmen dressed in army fatigues stood guard with weapons at a Fort Hood, Texas, Klan rally in June 1979 and at a national KKK convention in New Orleans in September 1979. A soldier was found printing Klan material on the base duplicating machine at the Yuma Proving Grounds in Arizona. Klan members have been discovered on a number of U.S. Navy ships. The

[14] *New York Post*, October 1, 1980.

[15] Associated Press, Houston, November 25, 1980.

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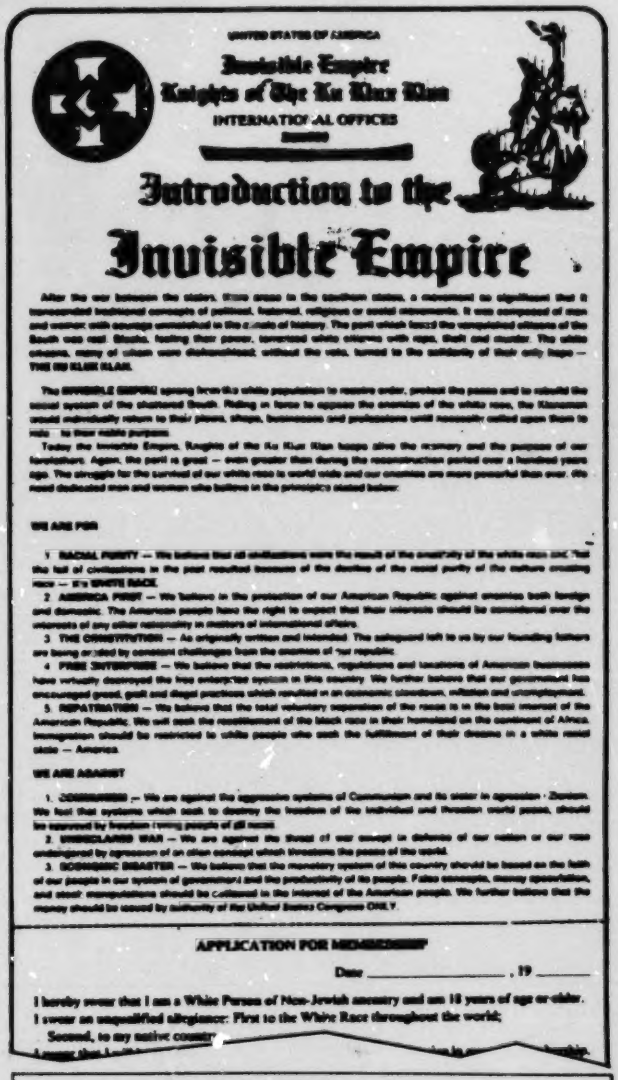
Navy has since banned "activities of a member or members of a racist organization" on Navy ships.[16]

## I. REASONS FOR CURRENT KLAN GROWTH

A study of other periods of Klan revival helps to identify some factors contributing to the current resurgence of the Klan. The United States again has experienced a period of great social change, just as it did after the Civil War and World War I—the other periods of major Klan activity. Central among these social changes has been the challenge to white supremacy from blacks and other people of color. Struggles for liberation and rights by blacks, Native Americans, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Asian Americans, women, gay people, disabled people and older people create an unsettling sense of social turmoil and change for some. As in the 1920's, a backlash has developed in response to changing morals and lifestyles—and once again there is a significant rise in fundamentalist religious activity. People are worried about inflation and unemployment. The immigration of people from Mexico, Haiti, Central America, Cuba and Southeast Asia has been used to stir up bigotry, particularly at a time when many workers are already unemployed. The war in Vietnam, the independence and actions of the OPEC oil cartel, and the Iranian hostage crisis are some recent international situations which have caused many in the United States to feel frustrated and angry. The increasing threat of nuclear war makes most people uneasy.

As in the 1920's, the Klan's racist ideology and activities are provided fertile ground by more respectable racist elements. Academicians with "scientific" theories of white superiority/black inferiority received widespread media exposure during the 1970's (and are often quoted in Klan materials today). Social scientists who promoted various victim-blaming theories for racial disparities have received much media and governmental attention. The government is sharply cutting back social service programs that provide critical assistance to racial minorities. Politicians are spouting code words like "states rights" in speeches remarkably similar to those of the 1870's that ushered in the return to power of white supremacists at the state level, all the while assuring, as they did in the 1870's, that equal rights will be upheld. Life-long white supremacists, now in positions of great power in Congress, are pushing for repeal of the Voting Rights Act and other federal legislation and regulations that provided important advances for civil rights in the 1960's. The Supreme Court hastens white society's retreat from these advances in deci-



UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Invisible Empire
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
INTERNATIONAL OFFICES

Introduction to the

Invisible Empire

After the war between the states, there arose in the southern states, a movement so significant that it transcended traditional concepts of political, fraternal, religious or social movements. It was composed of men and women with courage unmatched in the annals of history. The point which faced the vanquished citizens of the South was real. Blacks, hating their power, terrorized white citizens with rape, theft and murder. The white citizens, many of whom were disfranchised, without the vote, turned to the solidarity of their only hope — THE KU KLUX KLAN.

The INVISIBLE EMPIRE sprang from the white population to restore order, protect the person and to rebuild the social system of the shattered South. Riding in force to oppose the enemies of the white race, the Klansmen would individually return to their places, shops, businesses and professions until necessity called upon them to ride to their noble purpose.

Today the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan keeps alive the memory and the purposes of our forefathers. Again, the peril is great — even greater than during the reconstruction period over a hundred years ago. The struggle for the survival of our white race is world wide and our enemies are more powerful than ever. We need dedicated men and women who believe in the principles stated below:

WE ARE FOR

1. RACIAL PURITY — We believe that all civilizations were the result of the creativity of the white man and that the fall of civilizations in the past resulted because of the decline of the racial purity of the culture creating race — it's WHITE RACE.
2. AMERICA FIRST — We believe in the protection of our American Republic against enemies both foreign and domestic. The American people have the right to expect that their interests should be considered over the interests of any other nationality in matters of international affairs.
3. THE CONSTITUTION — As originally written and intended. The safeguard left to us by our founding fathers are being eroded by constant challenges from the enemies of our republic.
4. FREE ENTERPRISE — We believe that the restrictions, regulations and taxations of American businesses have virtually destroyed the free enterprise system in this country. We further believe that our government has encouraged greed, graft and illegal practices which resulted in an economic slowdown, inflation and unemployment.
5. REPATRIATION — We believe that the total voluntary separation of the races is in the best interest of the American Republic. We will seek the resettlement of the black race in their homeland on the continent of Africa. Immigration should be restricted to white people who seek the fulfillment of their dreams in a white racial state — America.

WE ARE AGAINST

1. COMMUNISM — We are against the aggressive systems of Communism and its sister in oppression - Zionism. We feel that systems which seek to destroy the freedom of the individual and threaten world peace, should be opposed by freedom loving people of all races.
2. UNDECLARED WAR — We are against the threat of war except in defense of our nation or our race endangered by oppression of an alien concept which threatens the peace of the world.
3. ECONOMIC DISASTER — We believe that the monetary system of this country should be based on the faith of our people in our system of government and the productivity of its people. False concepts, money speculation, and stock manipulations should be outlawed in the interest of the American people. We further believe that the money should be issued by authority of the United States Congress ONLY.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

Date _____, 19 _____

I hereby swear that I am a White Person of Non-Jewish ancestry and am 18 years of age or older.
I swear an unqualified allegiance: First to the White Race throughout the world;
Second, to my native country

KLAN YOUTH CORPS PROGRAM:

1) Organize White Youth in every school along racial lines.
2) 'Get tough' policy with arrogant non-Whites.
3) Force school administrators to drop their appeasement policy to minorities by threatening public exposure followed by possible boycotts.
4) Implement 'tit for tat' policy by demanding equal rights for White students. If minorities have a Minority Cultural Class, Whites should have a White Cultural Class (etc . . . ).
5) We want segregation of classes, followed by eventual segregation of schools.

I enclose $6.00 with the application for membership in the Klan Youth Corps.

I swear that I am of white, non-Jewish heritage and that I have read and understood the purposes of the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. I understand that this membership automatically becomes null and void in the event that false or misleading information is furnished to obtain membership.

I further swear that everything entered on this application is true to the best of my knowledge and that I have furnished the signature of a parent or legal guardian.

Signed (applicant) _____ Date _____

[16] *FACTS*, Anti-Defamation League, November, 1979.

Christopher Bell

sions such as the Bakke case[17] and those demanding proof of *intent* to discriminate in order to gain judicial relief from discrimination (rather than proof of discriminatory *results*, which had previously been sufficient). Similarly, attacks on the gains of women, unions, gay people and other groups provide fuel for the Klan's activities.

**The Klan Scapegoats**

In the midst of current social change, people's frustrations and anxieties are easily channelled into blaming scapegoats. Once again, the Klan is around to provide easy answers and point to scapegoats. "The nation is gravely in need of a mighty force to halt the Washington insanity and return our country to its position of greatness in the world. The Ku Klux Klan is the only organization which has proven its ability to bring change and restore order." Thus says the Imperial Wizard of a large Klan faction in his organization newspaper.[18] Today, the Klan scapegoats blacks, Jews, gay people, immigrants, communists and others.

Typical of Klan scapegoating tactics are its attacks on Jews. Klan propaganda charges that a "Jewish conspiracy" is responsible for everything from gas shortages to "race-mixing" to the country's economic woes. Jews, it is sometimes claimed, are the masterminds "behind" black people because blacks are said to be too "inferior" to initiate action on their own behalf. The Imperial Wizard of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan has stated, "The Jews . . . are financing the niggers and forcing them down our throats."[19] Other age-old and discredited anti-Semitic myths often repeated by the Klan are that Jews control the media, including textbook publishing, and banking. In reality, Jews do not control these industries; they are, for example, the principal stockholders or owners of only 3% of the more than 1,700 U.S. newspapers and less than 1% of the directors and top officers of U.S. commercial and savings banks. More significantly, whatever the percentage of Jews in a particular industry, they function as individuals, not as part of any conspiracy. (In addition to maintaining close links with neo-Nazi groups, some Klan factions sell virulently anti-Semitic Nazi literature: Hitler's *Mein Kampf* and *The Hitler We Loved and Why* are among the titles available.)

The Klan is once again basing its campaign of hatred, bigotry and terror on white supremacy and its own definitions of Americanism and Christianity. During Reconstruction, the Klan's violent and lawless activities were said to be upholding "law and order" against supposedly "ruthless, law-breaking" blacks. History shows their real purpose was to restore to power an elite who benefitted most from white supremacy, and that the overwhelming threat to law and order came from the white terrorists themselves. Today, the Klan's violent and lawless activities are said to be an attempt to protect "white rights" against what the Klan claims is black people getting all the benefits ("reverse discrimination"). Yet the facts show that black people still suffer from racism and discrimination and that whites as a group continue to enjoy far better social and economic conditions than do blacks. Indeed, a variety of social and economic indicators demonstrate that the gap between whites and blacks has widened, not lessened. Thus, when the Klan seeks to protect "white rights," it is seeking to maintain the special privileges and benefits available to whites in a society structured around white supremacy.

Myths and lies have always been more vital to the Klan than its sheets and burning crosses. In spite of civil rights laws and some affirmative action efforts, blacks have made only limited progress. They still earn, on the average, much less than whites. They are under-represented in government, the professions, higher-paying occupations and colleges. They suffer twice the rate of white unemployment, experience worse health care and housing, and are denied equity in a range of other areas. Yet many whites ignore these facts and remain silent about the continued lack of equality. Many exaggerate the progress, focusing on laws and regulations that have been passed but ignoring the failure to implement the laws.

[17] See dissenting opinion of Justice Marshall, 438 U.S. 387.

[18] *The Klansman*, September, 1980 (special mini-edition).

[19] *The Tennessean*, Dec. 7, 1980.

History shows that poor whites have gained the most during periods when blacks made gains—getting the right to vote, better educational opportunities, job training, more social services, etc. Yet it is quicker and easier for people to scapegoat others than to carefully analyze social forces affecting their situation and organize and work with others to create social change. Instead of joining together to help improve our society for everyone, many people concerned about inflation, unemployment and high taxes hold blacks, immigrants, Jews, gay people, communists, unions or various foreign countries responsible for their and society's problems. Scapegoating serves to deflect people's frustrations from the actual causes of their problems onto weaker and less powerful groups.

**The Klan's Role**

The Klan serves two principal functions. First, it helps channel many white people's frustration and anger away from the real causes of their concerns about taxes, inflation, living standards and unemployment and onto the scapegoated groups. Second, through violence and terror, it attempts to intimidate people and keep them from struggling for their rights. The Klan has arisen whenever the efforts of oppressed people, particularly black people, to improve their lives threaten the status quo. Thus, it is important to remember that the Klan is only the tip of the iceberg, the most visible and obvious manifestation of the entrenched racism in our society.

## J. COUNTERING THE KLAN

The Klan can only grow in a climate where racism flourishes. It needs the support or sympathy of those in positions of economic, political, religious and media power to either directly encourage its growth or to condone it by failing to fully exercise their power to stop its terrorist activities and to protect its victims. Historically, the Klan has been less effective in areas where newspapers expose its true nature; where public officials denounce its lawlessness; where law enforcement officials vigorously investigate and prosecute its illegal activities; where juries convict and judges sentence lawbreakers; where church and civic leaders speak out and help educate people to its menace. The most effective weapon against the Klan has been citizens—black and white—organizing, demonstrating against the Klan and demanding that community and elected leaders act forcefully to stop the terrorists.

Frederick Douglass, the famous ex-slave and anti-slavery leader, said in 1892:

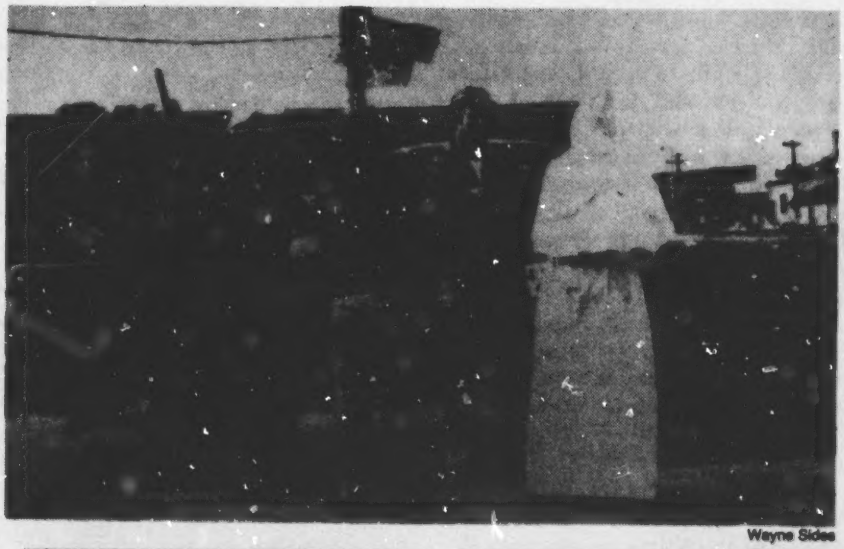
> Now where rests the responsibility for the lynch law prevalent in the South? It is evident that it is not entirely with the ignorant mob. The men who break open jails and with bloody hands destroy human life are not alone responsible. These are not the men who make public sentiment. They are simply hangmen; not the court, judge, or jury. They simply obey the public sentiment of the South, the sentiment created by wealth and respectability, by the press and the pulpit. *A change in public sentiment can be easily effected by these forces whenever they shall elect to make the effort.* [emphasis added][20]

Ed Cohen

Russ Smith/Southern Exposure

[20]Albert Blaustein and Robert Zangrando, eds., *Civil Rights and the American Negro: A Documentary History* (New York: Washington Square Press, 1968), p. 287.

Wayne Sides



Wayne Sides

Wayne Sides

Wayne Sides

Wayne Sides

Southern Exposure

Kelvin Bell/Southern Exposure

# The Ku Klux Klan Today

**OBJECTIVES**

- Students will be able to identify types of activities engaged in by the Klan.
- Students will be able to recognize violence as a major characteristic of Klan activity.
- Students will be able to cite groups against which Klan violence is directed, including blacks, Jews, gay people, leftists, immigrants, whites who oppose racism and others.
- Students will be able to cite areas where Klan activities have occurred that indicate its existence in all regions of the country.

**TIME REQUIRED**

One class period.

**MATERIALS NEEDED**

- Sufficient copies of each of the five news clippings about Klan activities so that each student will receive a copy of one of the clippings with all mention of the Klan deleted (see pp. 28-31).
- One copy of the poem "Ku Klux" by Langston Hughes (p. 27) for each student with mention of the Klan deleted.
- Sufficient copies of the Examples of Recent Klan Activities (pp. 26-27) so that each student will receive a section with four items with references to the Klan deleted.
- One teacher copy of all of the above, with Klan references intact to allow verification by students (pp. 24-25).

**TEACHER PREPARATION**

Read Background Information (pp. 10-21), the five news clippings about recent Klan activities (pp. 28-31), the Examples of Recent Klan Activities (pp. 26-27) and the poem "Ku Klux" (p. 24). Make sufficient copies of each of the last three items, using the versions in which all references to the Klan have been deleted (pp. 26-31), to provide copies for the second procedure below.

**CLASSROOM PROCEDURE**

1. *Advise* the class that they are going to work with several kinds of materials that will give them information about an unnamed organization.
2. *Divide* the class into groups of five. *Give* each group member a different news clipping, a copy of the poem and four items from the information sheet. (*Distribute* any extra items at random.)
3. *Give* the students 15 minutes to read and discuss the materials. *Ask* them to note the type of activities undertaken by this organization, the groups that are the target of its activities, and where the activities are occurring. (Note: *Record* responses on newsprint with magic markers, if available, instead of on chalkboard, so that information can remain on display—and have additional items added—as class study of the Klan continues.)
4. At the end of the allotted time, *ask* groups to report on the types of activities about which they read. Volunteer student recorders should list responses under the heading "Types of Activities." (Responses may include such activities as death threats, vandalism, personal attacks, beatings, shootings, firebombings.)
5. *Ask* students to share what kinds of people were targets of such activities. *Have* student recorders list responses under the heading "Targets of Activities."
6. *Ask* students to list locations of activities. *Have* student recorders list responses under heading "Locations of Activities."
7. *Discuss* students' findings, using questions such as:
   a. How would you describe the essential character of an organization that engages in such activities? (Violent, terroristic, criminal, etc.)
   b. Is it always possible to prove that incidents have been perpetrated by this organization? If incidents were carried out by non-members who were inspired by the rhetoric or example of the organization, do you think we can link them to the organization? Explain.
   c. What are some of the apparent reasons that these people were the targets of such activities? (Just being black, Jewish, gay; black people moving into white neighborhoods; white and black people being friends or just interacting; people demonstrating against injustice; etc.)
   d. Would it be correct to describe the activities of this organization as "isolated incidents" or a "regional phenomenon"? Why or why not?
   e. How did the person who was the target of the activities respond? How did others in the community respond? Did the organization accomplish what it sought?
8. *Show* the original copy of the materials which refer to the Klan by name. *Ask* students to share their reactions to learning that the organization referred to is the Klan.
9. *Ask* students what they have learned about the Klan that they did not know before. Also *ask* what other things about the Klan they feel it would be important to discuss and study.

**OPTIONAL FOLLOW-UP ACTIVITIES**

1. *Have* students monitor newspapers, magazines and other media for stories about the Klan. Students can develop a bulletin board of clippings. *Have* students add to lists of "Types of Activities," "Targets of Activities" and "Locations of Activities" as they come across additional information.
2. If there have been any Klan activities in your area, *invite* people who have been targets of Klan violence to share their experiences with the class.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

BEST COPY

## Examples of Recent Klan Activities

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2. 1977—Oklahoma City, OK: Members of a high school Ku Klux Klan chapter took credit for baseball bat attacks on patrons of a gay club. (*The Kansas City Times*, January 26, 1978)

3. 1977—Los Angeles, CA: Three Klansmen were convicted of conspiracy to murder the West Coast leader of the Jewish Defense League. (Anti-Defamation League *FACTS*, March 1978)

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3. 1981—Salt Lake City, UT: A former Klansman was convicted of killing two black men (18- and 20-years-old) who were jogging with two white women in August 1980. (*New York Times*, March 5, 1981)

4. 1981—Baltimore, MD: The leader of the Maryland Knights of the Ku Klux Klan was convicted of plotting to bomb a synagogue. A former police officer, he was also convicted of throwing a brick through the synagogue window. (*The Evening Sun*, March 13, 1981)

## KU KLUX

### by Langston Hughes

They took me out
To some lonesome place.
They said, "Do you believe
In the great white race?"

I said, "Mister,
To tell you the truth,
I'd believe in anything
If you'd just turn me loose."

The white man said, "Boy,
Can it be
You're a-standin' there
A-sassin' me?"

They hit me in the head
And knocked me down.
And then they kicked me
On the ground.

A klansman said, "Nigger,
Look me in the face—
And tell me you believe in
The great white race."

Copyright 1942 by Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. Reprinted from *Selected Poems of Langston Hughes*, by permission of the publisher.

# West Virginia Minister and Wife Find Refuge From Klan Terror

By BEN A. FRANKLIN
Special to The New York Times

CAMBRIDGE, Mass., Jan. 11 — Seven hundred miles from their former parish in rural West Virginia, the Rev. Michael S. Curry and his wife, Elle, driven from Mr. Curry's first denominational call by what he described today as a "campaign of terror," are headed by Klan threats, have begun trying to recover their equilibrium.

The Currys arrived here this weekend, with their belongings in a U-Haul truck, six weeks after leaving their Smithburg, W. Va., parsonage and beginning a flight across the state in which they moved every four to five days. They said that after a "period of emotional recuperation" they hoped to resume their careers here, where Mr. Curry, a 35-year-old Methodist minister, graduated last May from Harvard Divinity School.

"We've been living as fugitives, out of suitcases and paper bags, since Nov. 22, the Sunday we finally gave up and left," Mrs. Curry said today.

### 'Triggering Event'

Bishop William B. Grove, head of the Methodist Conference of West Virginia, said in a separate interview that the "triggering event" that made the conference decide to move the Currys occurred Nov. 22.

On that Saturday afternoon Mr. Curry, [illegible] Church office [illegible] Bishop Grove, he wanted to tell the bishop [illegible] Curry [illegible] Mrs. Curry [illegible] Curry [illegible] Curry [illegible]

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2. 1981—Memphis, TN: Two abducted a man who quit the . They threatened him with a pistol, then covered him with yellow paint and feathers. Police learned that a "contract" was issued on his life because he publicly claimed that leaders were selling marijuana and cocaine, and that a member had recruited women for porno movies. (*Washington Star*, February 17, 1981; *The Daily Press*, February 16, 1981)

3. 1981—Salt Lake City, UT: A former was convicted of killing two black men (18- and 20-year-olds) who were jogging with two white women in August 1980. (*New York Times*, March 5, 1981)

4. 1981—Baltimore, MD: The leader of the Maryland was convicted of plotting to bomb a synagogue. A former police officer, he was also convicted of throwing a brick through the synagogue window. (*The Evening Sun*, March 13, 1981)

### by Langston Hughes

They took me out
To some lonesome place.
They said, "Do you believe
In the great white race?"

I said, "Mister,
To tell you the truth,
I'd believe in anything
If you'd just turn me loose."

The white man said, "Boy,
Can it be
You're a-standin' there
A-sassin' me?"

They hit me in the head
And knocked me down.
And then they kicked me
On the ground.

A said, "Nigger,
Look me in the face—
And tell me you believe in
The great white race."

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*Detroit News*, Nov. 2, 1979

## —Black couple wi'l stay

# *visits shatter a quiet dream*

By NOLAN FINLEY
News Staff Writer

David and Pam Allen didn't expect trouble when they moved into a rented brick home in a well-kept Romulus subdivision last Saturday.

The Allens were the first black family in the neighborhood, but Romulus has been integrated for a long time.

Their new white neighbors helped them move, carrying furniture and loaning the use of their telephones.

A day later, the trouble began.

A group of men wearing -style white sheets set fire Sunday night to a pile of leaves next to the Allen home, apparently in an effort to burn the house down.

"They shouted, 'Get out of here, niggers, or we'll blow the house up next time,'" said Mrs. Allen. "We were shocked. We didn't even know we were the first blacks to move in here."

**THE GROUP** returned Monday and Tuesday night, burling bottles and homemade fire bombs at the Allens' three-bedroom home on Westvale, in the southwestern section of the city.

They failed to seriously damage the Allen home.

At 7:10 p.m. Wednesday, just after the Allens returned home with their four children from Halloween "trick-or-treating," a bottle thrown from a moving pickup truck hit the house.

When the pickup made another pass at 7:30 p.m., 26-year-old David Allen was waiting with a 12-gauge shotgun.

He fired at someone tossing beer bottles at the house from the back of the moving truck. The shotgun pellets struck a 17-year-old youth in the back. The youth is hospitalized in stable condition in Wayne County General Hospital.

**ALLEN WAS** arrested but released yesterday afternoon while the Wayne County sheriff's department and prosecutor's office decide whether he should be charged in the shooting.

"There are some very extenuating circumstances to consider," said Detective Richard Fenton. "The Allens have been the subject of continuing harassment since they moved in."

The Allens, who are renting the home for $410 a month, said they are stunned by the attacks.

"Everyone in the neighborhood treated us so nice when we were moving in," said Mrs. Allen. "They are real friendly.

"I don't believe anyone in this neighborhood is responsible. They are as upset as we are, and several of them called the police when they saw the men in white sheets and the kids throwing bottles.

"It has to be outsiders, and I don't know why they're bothering us."

**FENTON AGREES** it's unlikely anyone in the immediate neighborhood is responsible for the harassment. Both the youth shot by Allen and the teen-ager driving the truck live in other areas of Romulus.

"It's hard to understand," Fenton said. "The people responsible apparently don't live in the neighborhood. But the harassment is definitely racially motivated. It's a surprising thing to happen in Romulus.

"Most of the community is heavily integrated, and only a few all-white or all-black neighborhoods exist. This is a very open community."

Fenton said he isn't sure whether the persons wearing the sheets are actually members. Neither of the youths involved in the Wednesday night incident were wearing sheets.

**DAVID ALLEN** refused to discuss the shooting, but he did say he acted on an impulse — "the aggravation had been building all week, and I was getting frightened for my wife and family," he said. The couple have four boys, aged 1 to 8.

"We're going to stay here, no matter what happens," Allen said. "I'm comfortable here, I like the house, and I think it would be a good place for my kids to grow up.

"I just hope whoever is responsible for this harassment is stopped. This is 1979, this kind of thing isn't supposed to happen anymore."

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*The Washington Post*, April 21, 1980

# Four Black Women Wounded In Chattanooga; Held

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn., April 20 (AP)—Four black women leaving a tavern were wounded by shotgun blasts from a passing car, and a black leader today praised police for the quick action that led to the arrests of three members.

George Key, Chattanooga chapter president of the NAACP, said he had calls Saturday night after the shootings from people urging retaliation.

He said, however, that he was resisting those calls because the NAACP believed in working through the system.

"If justices is not carried out, rest assured that we will take whatever steps are legally necessary," said Key, who had met last month with at least one of the arrested members. "The NAACP believes in the American system. We believe it can work. We are the conscience of America and we will be the conscience of Chattanooga."

The three arrested men were all charged with four counts of assault with intent to commit murder. All were in the city jail today in lieu of $40,000 bond awaiting a Monday arraignment.

The three were identified by police as Bill Church, 23, who calls himself imperial wizard of the ; Larry Payne, 26, and Marshall Thrash, 30 all from Chattanooga. A police source said Payne and Thrash are members of Church's group.

The women were struck by at least two shotgun blasts as they left a tavern in a predominantly black section of the city, police said. Authorities did not immediately establish a motive.

Two of the victims, Kathryn O. Johnson, 48, and Lela Mae Eaves, 66, were hospitalized in fair condition with leg wounds. Police said the other women, Viola S. Ellison, 64, and Opal Lee Jackson, 46, were treated for pellet wounds in the legs and buttocks and released.

Jackson, in a hospital interview, said, "We were walking out and turning the corner and that's when the shots were fired. I didn't know what to do. By the time we had got around the corner, we were shot."

Key and three of his chapter's members had met peacefully March 21 in the NAACP office with Church and three of his group's members to discuss common economic goals. The groups also appeared together more recently on a television talk show.

Key said race relations in this southeast Tennessee city of 170,000 have improved steadily since four nights of rioting in May 1971 brought National Guardsmen and a curfew.

*Valley News* (Cal.), Nov. 5, 1979

# Cross-burning mystifies, riles N. Hollywood target

By PENELOPE SIMISON

A North Hollywood attorney said he was rattled and mad Sunday because someone burned three wooden crosses on the lawn of his home and left an anti-Semitic note on his front porch.

The three crosses, standing abreast on Joseph Merdler's front lawn, were covered with paper and set afire sometime between 1 and 6:30 a.m. Sunday. A note that read, "Go Jew," and was signed, was found lying underneath an ice pick on the front porch.

Merdler's wife, who discovered the burned crosses, said they ranged in height from 2½ feet to 6 feet. Authorities said there were no injuries or property damage from the incident.

"The whole family is rattled," Merdler said in an interview with City News Service. His neighbors also were upset, he said.

"I'm mad. This is America. I don't stand still for this type of thing," Merdler said.

"I have been trained to support the law and to do things for the system. This is one thing I don't believe in. A man's race or religion is his business, and everybody should judge him for himself and not anything else," he said.

Merdler, who is Jewish, said he has been a general practice attorney for the last eight years. But he said he was at a loss to explain why his home, in a culde-sac in a racially mixed neighborhood, would be targeted by a group such as the

But Harvey Schechter, regional director of the Pacific Southwest Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, said attacks on homes usually are not the work of an organized group.

He expressed doubt the vandalism was the work of the

"It has been our experience when there is vandalism at a home — such as the placement of a swastika or a cross burning — if it is just an individual home, then we are satisfied it is not the work of an organized group," he said.

"Where you see organizational activity, it will be a whole neighborhood that will be leafleted or vandalized and not just an individual home," Schechter said.

Investigation of the incident will be handled by the Los Angeles Police Department's criminal conspiracy section.

*The New York Times*, Dec. 14, 1980

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# Vandals Harass Black Families in California County

Special to The New York Times

PINOLE, Calif., Dec. 13 — It is dark and deceptively peaceful in this predominantly white neighborhood in western Contra Costa County, 20 miles northeast of San Francisco.

Two cars are parked in front of the home of Otis and Geraldine Ireland, one of three black families who have been the recent victims of racial harassment and vandalism.

Inside the cars are members of the East Bay Organizing Committee, a 150-member group that has organized a 24-hour watch at the homes of black families. Paul Milne, the group's director, said the protection program, using unarmed volunteers, was organized two weeks ago by white people because "it's the responsibility of white people to stop white thugs who attack black people."

In recent weeks, tensions have mounted in this blue-collar community, which has attracted an increasing number of black families because of its open space and relatively affordable housing.

In the last month vandals set fire to the yard of Mary Handy in an incorporated community near here called Tara Hills. Firefighters extinguished the blaze before it damaged the house. Mrs. Handy later received a letter from a group calling itself "White Purity of Pinole," saying more vandalism would follow.

Blocks away at Otis Ireland's home, on one occasion, youths with clubs and bats jeered, "Nigger, we're going to kill you." On another occasion, two men backed a car into the wall of the house.

Three miles from Tara Hills, someone fired a shotgun blast at the Roosevelt Presley home in El Sobrante.

The United States Attorney's office has asked the Federal Bureau of Investigation to look into the incidents.

The families and black leaders believe the violence has been inspired by the presence of a new [illegible] that already says it is one of the strongest in the state. Two months ago, the California Attorney General, George Deukmejian, warned that statewide membership was "at its highest level in years."

"It's got me terrorized," said Mrs. Handy. "I thought this stuff was a thing of the past. But this is 1980 and it's very much alive."

Sheriff Richard Rainey of Contra Costa County said there was "nothing at this time to indicate activity." And local spokesmen adamantly denied that members were involved.

The sheriff's office increased patrols after black residents charged that the police were indifferent. The County Board of Supervisors has authorized spending up to $10,000 as rewards for information leading to convictions in the incidents.

The Sheriff attributes the trouble to a gang fight last month in which a 15-year-old white youth was beaten unconscious by an 18-year-old black youth from neighboring Richmond, a predominantly black city south of here.

But to Ida Berk, county director of community services, the incidents are "just highlights of a general pattern."

The area was sparsely populated until World War II when western Contra Costa County's shipyards built 753 oceangoing transports with trainloads of imported workers, many from the South. After the war, the workers remained.

In the last decade, blacks, Filipinos and Latinos moved into the area. From 1970 to 1975, the most recent figures available, the percentage of blacks in Pinole increased from half a percent to 1.8 percent, in San Pablo from 2.5 to 7.4 percent and in Tara Hills and Montalvan Manor from .3 percent to 2 percent.

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*The New York Times*, Jan. 12, 1931

# *West Virginia Minister and Wife Find Refuge From Terror*

By BEN A. FRANKLIN
Special to The New York Times

CAMBRIDGE, Mass., Jan. 11 — Seven hundred miles from their former parish in rural West Virginia, the Rev. Michael S. Curry and his wife, Ella, driven from Mr. Curry's first denominational call by what he described today as "a six-month campaign of terror" by hooded [illegible], have begun trying to recover their equilibrium.

The Currys arrived here this weekend, with their belongings in a U-Haul truck, six weeks after leaving their Smithburg, W. Va., parsonage and beginning a flight across the state in which they moved every four to five days. They said that after a "period of emotional recuperation" they hoped to resume their careers here, where Mr. Curry, a 26-year-old Methodist minister, graduated last May from Harvard Divinity School.

"We've been living as fugitives, out of suitcases and paper bags, since Nov. 22, the Sunday we finally gave up and left Smithburg because the [illegible] said I had two weeks to live and threatened to shoot me in my pulpit," Mr. Curry said today.

### 'Triggering Event'

Bishop William B. Grove, head of the Methodist Conference of West Virginia, said in a separate interview that the "triggering event" that made the conference decide to move the Currys occurred Nov. 22.

On that Saturday afternoon Mr. Curry, a native West Virginian, was in the church office preparing his Sunday sermon. He walked to the nearby parsonage and, upon his return, found a paper butcher knife through the upholstered back rest of his chair with a note written on paper from his desk. The note said: "You will be dead."

Even in September, the couple was receiving telephone threats from by-then familiar voices that Mrs. Curry was being followed and "will be raped" while attending nursing courses at a nearby college. Mr. Curry was given police protection in church on Sundays and when he traveled by car. But then came the phone call: "You have two weeks to leave Smithburg or you will die," and then the butcher knife incident.

"It's important to realize that, because we have moved the Currys, we are not running away from the [illegible]," Bishop Grove said today. "We are sending a new man in there next Sunday."

### 'A Long Time to Heal'

"It's been very draining living in fear for six, going on seven, months," Mr. Curry said, "and we are so bruised by all this that it's going to take a long time for us to heal. We tried to stay. We didn't believe this could happen at first. But it would not have surprised me in the least to have found myself in a ditch with a bullet through my skull."

According to the Currys, both small-town West Virginians, their months of terror in Doddridge County began as soon as they arrived in Smithburg last June to take over a four-church, 23-mile rural circuit of the United Methodist Conference of West Virginia.

Bishop Grove, the police authorities and Lucien R. Sammons Jr., the Doddridge County prosecutor, confirmed a story that, Mr. Curry conceded today, "I would have found hard to believe." However, no investigation is currently under way because of a lack of evidence.

"The first week we were there I got a phone call from a man who said he was a [illegible] and wanted to come into our church and preach at Sunday services and recruit members for the [illegible]," Mr. Curry recalled, sitting with his wife in the office of a friend on the Harvard faculty. "I told him that he could not do that and he said, 'Well, we'll get you for that.' That was just the beginning."

### More Phone Calls

The phone calls continued, with anonymous threats that "we'll kill all you Commies." Mr. Curry said. "Actually, I am quite conservative theologically, but I'm sure I look liberal," he added. The young minister wears a closely trimmed beard and oversized glasses.

He said he had preached only one sermon that, in retrospect, could have inspired the threats: a message on "racism as a contemporary idol."

"I certainly didn't go there with any kind of crusade in mind," he said.

The [illegible] had held several outdoor rallies, cross-burning ceremonies and road-blocking fund appeals in the area, the couple learned after their arrival. One church on Mr. Curry's circuit had received a note saying that it "would be burned."

"But we even thought at first that someone must be having a vendetta against the [illegible] and making them look bad by doing this," Mrs. Curry said. "We decided to keep it all as quiet as we could and hoped it would go away. It didn't."

### 'A [illegible] Toll Booth'

In July, as the Currys were leaving a restaurant where they had had Sunday dinner, their car was stopped by robed and hooded men at what Mrs. Curry called a "[illegible] toll booth." The Currys said they declined to give and drove on.

The telephone threats continued, and at 9 P.M. the following Tuesday, on the ramp of an interstate highway, Mr. Curry, alone in his car, was stopped by another "toll booth." "'Well, look who we have here,' a hooded voice said," Mr. Curry recalled. "'It's the big-mouth preacher.'

"'Get out of the car,' said a man who was holding a rifle. I said, 'No thank you,' and he said, 'Get out of the car or we'll cut your safety belt.' He had a gun and there were seven other hooded men there, so I got out.

"'You've been talking bad about us, haven't you?' asked the man with the rifle, and I said, 'No sir,'" Mr. Curry recalled.

"Someone behind me said, 'See how polite he is now?' and shoved me, pinning my arms behind me, so that I fell to one knee with my face against the man with the rifle. They pushed me around and punched me several times in the stomach, then the man with the gun turned it so that the butt was down and made a quick motion as if to hit my head with it but stopped just short.

"I was able to drive away and found a sheriff's deputy parked at a frozen custard stand. I told him what had happened and he said, 'We know the [illegible] is around.' I was terribly shaken."

### Support from the Police

Even after the West Virginia State Police began "giving us very good support, although we had no names and no identifications," Mr. Curry said, he found it "very unnerving" when he began to suspect "a [illegible] connection" in his own congregation, perhaps on the church board.

"When I asked the board's permission to put a tracer on my telephone that would disclose the calling number, the threats started coming from pay stations, where you could hear traffic noise. When I told the board I was installing a tape recorder to make voiceprints of the callers, the calls simply stopped."

Copies of [illegible] literature distributed in the Smithburg area bear the imprimatur of James R. Venable, head of the [illegible].

Mr. Curry described the literature as "less racist than political."

"What's amazing is that they could violate every fundamental right of ours, as Americans, and get away with it, scot-free," Mr. Curry said today. "The Federal Bureau of Investigation wanted to help us, and they said they would have if the [illegible] had used the mail and invited a Federal presence. But they said they could not do surveillance of the [illegible] without violating the [illegible] rights."

The New York Times / Neal Boenzi

The Rev. Michael S. Curry and his wife, Ella, in Cambridge, Mass., yesterday. They left a rural parish in West Virginia following six months of threats and violence that was attributed to the [illegible].

# Birth of the Ku Klux Klan

**OBJECTIVES**

- Students will be able to present information about the origins and early activities of the Ku Klux Klan
- Students will be able to contrast what the Klan practiced with what it preached.
- Students will be able to state in their own words the benefits that Reconstruction offered both blacks and poor whites and its potential for building a more just society.
- Students will be able to identify those who benefitted from the Klan and those against whose interests the Klan worked.

**TIME REQUIRED**

One homework assignment and one class period.

**MATERIALS NEEDED**

- Copies for each student of Background Information sections A, B and C up to, but not including, Terrorist Activities (pp. 10-12).
- Copies of testimonies (pp. 33-37) selected by teacher for each student who will present testimony and for hearing officers.

**TEACHER PREPARATION**

Teacher should be familiar with sections A, B, C and D of Background Information as well as all testimony. Teacher should decide which of the testimony to use given time restraints of class, being sure to include that of John B. Gordon (p. 37).

**STUDENT PREPARATION**

Students will read Background Information and selected testimony prior to the class discussion.

**ASSIGNMENT PROCEDURE**

1. *Tell* class that the next period will be used to re-enact congressional hearings held in the 1870's to investigate Ku Klux Klan violence. (All testimony is based on information presented at actual congressional hearings or on writings of people at that time. Some of it has been "modernized" and abbreviated to save time.)
2. *Ask for, or select,* students to testify and others to serve as hearing officers. *Give* these students a copy of the testimony they will present or the questions they will ask.
3. If General O.O. Howard's testimony is to be used, *ask* the student who will present it to become familiar with the gist of the material, be prepared to outline the scope of violence mentioned, and select a few sections to read.
4. *Give* all students a copy of Background Information sections A, B and C up to, but not including, Terrorist Activities.
5. *Ask* students to read these materials prior to the next class period.

**CLASSROOM PROCEDURE**

1. *Explain* that the hearings were designed to investigate Klan violence in order to learn more about what the Klan did and why.
2. *Have* hearing officers sit in front of the class, receiving testimony from witnesses. Witnesses can appear in any order, but it is suggested that John B. Gordon, the Georgia Klan leader, appear last, after class has learned of Klan activities from other witnesses.
3. *Initiate* a class discussion of the testimony. Questions to be asked might include:
   a. What targets does the testimony suggest the Klan chose for attack? (Black voters, blacks who were farming successfully, teachers and the schools to which blacks were flocking to learn to read and write, blacks meeting to discuss politics and other concerns, whites and blacks who socialized.)
   b. Why would the Klan seek to terrorize and intimidate these people? Who was threatened by industrious black farmers, blacks who could read and write, blacks who attended political meetings, blacks who voted? Who was threatened by whites working with blacks to build democracy and a better life for all?
   c. How does the Klan's statement of purpose and testimony by the Klan leader contrast with the rest of the testimony?
   d. What were some of the ways people responded to the Klan's activities? How would students feel had they been some of the people whose testimony was presented? How would they have reacted?
4. *Tell* students that such hearings helped bring about the passage of the Ku Klux Klan Act of 1871, which imposed heavy penalties on those "who shall conspire together, or go in disguise . . . for the purpose . . . of depriving any persons of the equal protection of the laws, or of equal privileges or immunities under the law." *Tell* them that in areas where officials strongly enforced the law, Klan violence declined. *Ask* them why they think groups working against Klan violence today believe it is crucial that local, state and federal officials strongly enforce existing laws in the face of rising Klan violence.

# Testimonies

## Testimony by Charlotte Fowler, Spartanburg, South Carolina, July 6, 1871*

**Congressional Officer:** I believe all the witnesses have been sworn in. I now call on Mrs. Charlotte Fowler. Step up. When was your husband, Wallace Fowler, killed?

**Charlotte Fowler:** It was the first of May.

**C.O.:** Tell us what happened.

**C.F.:** I was sick, very sick in bed with a fever, all day Wednesday and Thursday. My husband came home Thursday night from the field and he cooked for me and for our granddaughter Sophia, who was staying with us. After he went to bed I heard the dogs barking, then people banging on the door.

**C.O.:** Who was it?

**C.F.:** Well, my husband opened the door and they shot him, with the little girl standing right there. I just saw two of them, but I heard more riding away.

**C.O.:** What happened then?

**C.F.:** I was screaming and my grandaughter was crying. The men made Sophia light a stick in the fire so they could hold it up and see better. The man who shot my husband had a black mask with horns on it. He took the lighted stick and held it over my old man. The other man came over and dropped a chip of fire on my husband, and burnt his chest right through the shirt.

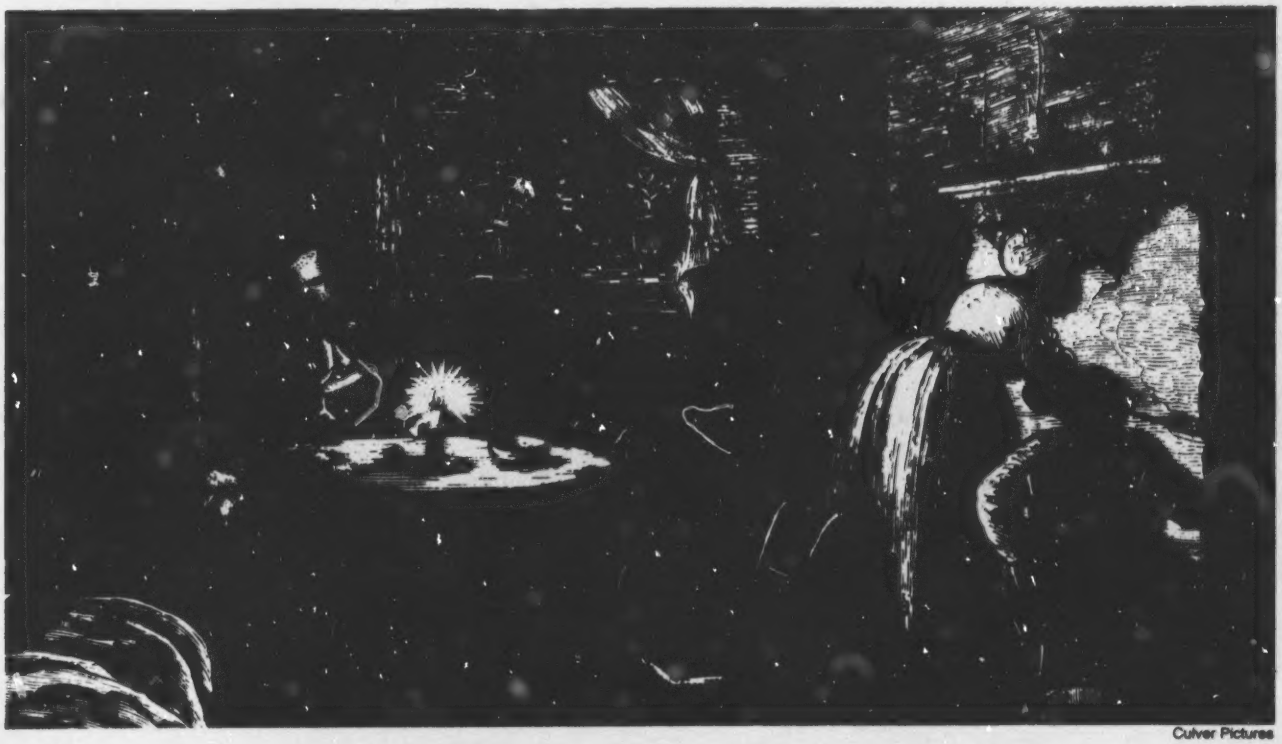
**C.O.:** Was he dead then?

**C.F.:** No. He was shot through the head, and every time he breathed, his brains would come out. But he didn't die until the next day, in the afternoon.

**C.O.:** Did the old man, your husband, belong to any party?

**C.F.:** Yes, sir. The Radical Republicans, ever since they started the voting for colored people. My husband worked for that party.

*Adapted from the full transcript as found in Herbert Aptheker, ed., *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States* (New York: Citadel Press, 1964), Vol. II, pp. 574-576.



Culver Pictures

# Testimony by General O.O. Howard, Head of the Freedmen's Bureau*

From the numerous cases of murder and outrage perpetrated upon Negroes and those who befriended them during the days of reconstruction, which were reported to my officers . . . it is now clear that the main object from first to last was somehow to regain and maintain over the negro that ascendancy which slavery gave, and which was being lost by emancipation, education and suffrage.

The opposition to negro education made itself felt everywhere in a combination not to allow the freedmen any room or building in which a school might be taught. In 1865, 1866 and 1867 mobs of the baser classes at intervals and in all parts of the South occasionally burned school buildings and churches used as schools, flogged teachers or drove them away and in a number of instances murdered them. . . .

Our work of establishing schools went steadily on. Early in 1868, however, was the first appearance in my Bureau school reports of an offensive secret organization. It was from Charlestown, W.Va. Our workers received a note from the "Ku-Klux Klan." Not a white family there after that could be found willing to board the excellent lady teachers. At Frostburg a male teacher was threatened with violence, the Klan having sent him notes, ordering him to depart. Loyal West Virginians, however, stood by him and he did not go. In Maryland, also, one teacher was warned and forced to leave. The Klan signed their rough document which was placed in his hand, "Ku-Klux Klan." The face of the envelope was covered with scrawls; among these were the words: "Death! Death!" By a similar method a teacher at Hawkinsville, Ga. (a colored man), was dealt with by menace and afterwards seriously wounded. The Georgia superintendent wrote that for the last three months, April, May, and June, 1868, there had been more bitterness exhibited toward all men engaged in the work of education than ever before; and there were few but had received threats, both anonymous and open. Several freedmen had abandoned their fields from fear.

The cry from Alabama was even more alarming . . . schoolhouses were burned, and those left standing were in danger; teachers were hated and maltreated, two being driven from their work. . . .

But Louisiana exceeded [Alabama's violence]; Miss Jordan's school at Gretna was entered by ruffians; the walls of her room were covered with obscene pictures and language, and threats against the teacher posted; she was insulted on the ferry and in the streets, and even annoyed in such a small way as to be required to pay twice as much ferriage as the teachers in the white schools. In Markville, the Ku-Klux Klan made more open demonstrations, but always by night. They posted their documents around the town, so terrifying the colored people that they did not dare leave their homes after dark. The night schools had to be closed. At Mary and Sabine parish; at Cherryville and Rapides parish; at Washington and Opelousas; at St. Landry parish, and elsewhere in a similar way by visitations and threats the schools were shut up and the teachers driven off.

In Texas, both at Georgetown and Circleville, the schools were similarly closed out; at the latter place the school edifice was burned to the ground.

Mrs. Baldwin, the teacher at Bowling Green, Ky., was a Christian lady of agreeable manners and unusual culture, but not one of the 27 loyal families of the place dared incur the odium of giving her a home. The Regulators had made themselves felt; men, professing to be gentlemen, insulted her upon the streets. Vile books and pictures were sent to her by mail; and, as a last resort, she was threatened with assassination if she was found in the city at the expiration of five days. Many other schools had to be maintained under military guard; five school buildings in Kentucky were burned about that time. . . .

It became evident . . . that in the early summer of 1868, the former irregular and local hostility to freedmen's schools had taken on a new strength. It involved in its meshes Unionists and well-to-do industrious negroes, as well as teachers and scholars. Further examples will illustrate the procedure: On May 16th, L.S. Frost, a white teacher in Tennessee, was taken at night from his room by a mob of disguised young men and carried to a field nearby, men choking and beating him all the way; they were flourishing their pistols over his head, and threatening to kill him instantly if he did not cease resisting. They made him promise to leave town the next morning. They then blackened his face and portions of his body with a composition of spirits of turpentine, lampblack and tar, and released him. About a dozen persons were engaged in the outrage, some of whom were recognized by Mr. Frost.

John Dunlap, a teacher educated in Ohio, was in July, 1868, in charge of a colored school at Shelbyville, Tenn. On Independence Day, about ten o'clock at night, a body of Ku-Klux, some fifty strong, masked, armed with pistols and bearing an emblem resembling the bleeding heart of a man, were paraded in front of his house. When he presented himself, they gave him commands which he resisted. They fired through his window, made him surrender his pistol, caused him to mount, and escorted him to the public square. Then they seized and secured a prominent colored man, James Franklin. Proceeding with the regularity of soldiers, a captain commanding, they marched their victims across the Duck River, where, dismounting, with something like a leathern thong or strap they first flogged Franklin, each man giving him five blows. After that, taking Dunlap to another place, with the same parade, they performed the same operation, badly lacerating his body. After directing him to leave the city the next day, they released him. Dunlap not at once complying with their demand, they served upon him a formal notice, sent in the form of an unstamped letter through the post office, ordering him to leave by July 15th, or he would be burned to death. Dunlap thereupon went to Nashville and remained two months. Then he came back. He was visited again after his return, but was now prepared with a guard. While the Ku-Klux were hallooing that they "wanted Dunlap and fried meat" and were approaching his residence, the guard fired upon them. The band retreated and did not appear in Shelbyville again. . . .

The outcropping of cruelties in portions of Louisiana showed by the persons who were chosen as victims that the effort of the secret organization was particularly political.

*Adapted from the text of General Howard's autobiography as quoted by Harvey Wish, ed., *Reconstruction in the South* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1965), pp. 172-179.

On July 28, 1868, William Cooper, a white Unionist, came to our agent in the parish of Franklin. He was severely wounded, having been shot in his own house near Girard Station; a freedman named Prince was killed in the same parish, and all the teachers were so terrified by such demonstrations as to stop teaching. . . .

At many points in Louisiana were these "bands of desperados formed in secret organization, styling themselves the Ku-Klux Klan." They shot and hung colored men. Their lifeless bodies were found, but the secrets were so well-kept that no guilty parties could be discovered. In some places negroes were taken out and whipped (as a rule by night) and there was no clew to the perpetrators. Even United States agents dared not hold a public meeting in that region—a gathering at night of negroes at any place would be regarded with suspicion by the whites and result in outrage and suffering to the blacks. . . .

The latter part of the year 1868, before the election of General Grant for his first term, these murderous secret societies reached their greatest activity. Even the country hamlets in the neighborhood of Chattanooga, which city always after the war abounded in Union men and late Union soldiers, were boldly visited by this strange horde. They came upon one commodious schoolhouse in the country and burned it to the ground; but the persistent teacher, a colored youth, though threatened by the Ku-Klux Klan with violence and death if he did not yield to their commands, made himself a brush arbor and there continued his school to the end of the term. Before the November election (the freedmen's first national suffrage) the Ku-Klux, armed and masked as usual, at night paraded the streets of several cities, and filled the freedmen with terror. Similar detachments boldly roamed over large districts of country outside of the cities. . . .

After the election, for a time, the excessive wrath abated. . . . The two months of 1868 that followed the Presidential election and the first six in the next year, 1869, were quite free from the Ku-Klux raids.

During the last half of 1869, however, there was a quickening of the secret pulse. . . . From Kentucky, a teacher who had a remarkably good school about ten miles from Bowling Green wrote: "The Ku Klux Klan came one night and told me if I did not break up my school they would kill me." The teacher obeyed. He reported that the white people said that this action by the Ku-Klux was . . . because "the niggers there were getting too smart."

*Above, the burning of a freedpeople's school by a white mob in Memphis in 1866. Under slavery, it was against the law to educate black slaves. During Reconstruction, white supremacists used violence and terror to try to prevent blacks from getting an education.*

North Carolina, that had made such good progress in every way under our systematic work, began in some of its counties to be infested during the latter half of 1869. "There was for a time a suspension of schools in a number of districts." Our inspector wrote that it was "owing to the influence of certain lawless bands." Teachers became frightened, and, under the threats of violence printed on placards and put upon doors and fence posts, it was deemed best to obey the dread-inspiring foes that, many or few, were magnified by excited imaginations into multitudes. The marauders went in bands, always masked, usually in small squads, each squad having from five to ten in number. . . .

South Carolina showed some eruptions of the same nature as late as December 24, 1869. A gentleman of good standing was building a large school structure at Newberry, S.C., for the education of the children of the freed people. He was visited by armed men and driven from the hotel where he was boarding, and a young lady teacher at the same place, sent by the Methodists from Vermont, was subjected to the meanest sort of insults and persecutions.

Georgia, too, in this time of comparative quiet, furnished some instances of the action of the secret bands. In about half of the State "Ku-Klux Klans," armed, disguised, roaming through country districts, committed their atrocious outrages. . . .

## Testimony by William Coleman, Macon, Mississippi, November 6, 1871*

**Congressional Officer:** How long have you lived in Macon?

**William Coleman:** I came here about the last of April.

**C.O.:** Where did you come from?

**W.C.:** I came from Winston County.

**C.O.:** What occasioned your coming here?

**W.C.:** I got run by the Ku-Klux.

**C.O.:** Give the particulars to the committee.

**W.C.:** Well, I don't know anything that I had said or done that injured any one, further than being a radical in that part of the land, and as for interrupting any one, I didn't, for I had plenty of my own of anything I wanted for myself. I had done bought my land and paid for it, and I had a great deal of hogs; I had eighteen head of hogs to kill this fall. I had twelve head of sheep, and one good milk-cow, and a yearling, and the cow had a right young calf again, and I had my mule and my filly, and all of it was paid for but my mule. . . .

**C.O.:** Did any of the Ku-Klux come to your house?

**W.C.:** They did.

**C.O.:** In the night-time?

**W.C.:** They came about a half hour or more before day. . . . they were shooting and going on at me through the house, and when they busted the door open, coming in shooting, I was frightened. . . . I grabbed my ax-handle and commenced fighting, and then they just took and cut me with knives. They surrounded me on the floor and tore my shirt off. They got me out on the floor; some had me by the legs and some by the arms and the neck. . . . They took me out to the big road before my gate and whipped me until I couldn't move or holler or do nothing. . . . They left me there for dead and what it was done for was because I was a radical, and I didn't deny my profession anywhere and I never will. I never will vote that conservative ticket if I die.

**C.O.:** Did they tell you they whipped you because you were a radical?

**W.C.:** They told me, "God damn you, when you meet a white man in the road lift your hat; I'll learn you. God damn you, that you are a nigger, and not to be going about like you thought yourself a white man; you calls yourself like a white man. God damn you."

**C.O.:** Were you working on your own land?

**W.C.:** Yes, sir; that I bought and paid $473 for.

*Adapted from the full transcript as found in Harvey Wish, ed., *Reconstruction in the South* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1965), pp. 163-166.

## Testimony by Hannah Tutson, Jacksonville, Florida, November 10, 1871*

**Congressional Officer:** You are the wife of Samuel Tutson. Were you at home when he was whipped last spring?

**Hannah Tutson:** I was. Five men pushed the door in. George McRae and Cabell Winn were first to take hold of me. Winn said to the others, "Come in, True-Klux." I screamed and they choked me and grabbed my littlest child by the foot, they pulled him away from me and threw him against the wall. Then lots of them dragged me outside. I saw they had more men pulling my husband and stomping on him.

**C.O.:** What did the True-Klux do?

**H.T.:** They hit my head with their pistols, tied me to a tree, pulled up all my clothes and said, "God damn you. We will show you. You are living on another man's land." I said, "No. I gave $150 for this land and the Captain told me to stay here."

**C.O.:** What did they say?

**H.T.:** They cursed me and beat me. Then they went away except McRae, who stayed and treated me terribly; he called, "Come here, True-Klux." Then five men came back and beat me some more. But I still wanted to save our land.

**C.O.:** Did you know those men?

**H.T.:** I've been working in Winn's mother's house for three years. Even though they all painted their faces and hands so they wouldn't be recognized, I know Winn's voice and I know lots of those menfolks. I recognized most of them.

**C.O.:** Did you find your children?

**H.T.:** Well, when they finished whipping me and went away I was bleeding from my neck to my feet. The house was broken up and I couldn't see my husband or children. I took a dress but it hurt too much to put it on, so I carried it and walked 12 miles before sunrise to show Mr. Ashley how they whipped me. He told me to find my children and go out of town. Then I went back and at noon I found my children hiding. The baby they hurt was crying.

**C.O.:** What happened to the baby and to your husband?

**H.T.:** The baby's hip hurt and it screamed whenever it tried to stand up. I found my husband later, whipped worse than me. He could not sit or walk.

**C.O.:** How long had you been living on that land you bought?

**H.T.:** This would have been the third crop, sir, almost three years. They had been after us for a long time, telling us to get out. Then they came and whipped us out.

*Adapted from the full transcript as found in Herbert Aptheker, ed., *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States* (New York: Citadel Press, 1964), Vol. II, pp. 579-585.

# Testimony by John B. Gordon, Georgia Klan Leader, 1871*

Preface by the Congressional Officer: In 1368, the Ku Klux Klan adopted a formal statement of character and purpose. It said that the Klan "is an institution of Chivalry, Humanity, Mercy and Patriotism; embodying in its genius and its principles all that is chivalric in conduct, noble in sentiment, generous in manhood, and patriotic in purpose." Its objects were said to be "to protect the weak, the innocent, and the defenceless, from the indignities, wrongs, and outrages of the lawless, the violent, and the brutal"; to relieve and assist the injured, oppressed, suffering and unfortunate, especially widows and orphans of Confederate soldiers; and to support the United States Constitution and constitutional laws. All Klansmen were sworn to secrecy.

**Congressional Officer:** What do you know of any combinations in Georgia, known as Ku-Klux, or by any other name, who have been violating the law?

**John B. Gordon:** I do not know anything about any Ku-Klux organization. . . . I have never heard of anything of that sort except in the papers . . . but I do know that an organization did exist in Georgia at one time in 1868. . . . I was approached and asked to attach myself to a secret organization . . . by some of the very best citizens of the State—some of the most peaceable, law-abiding men, men of large property, who had large interests in the State. . . .

**C.O.:** Tell us about what that organization was.

**J.B.G.:** The organization was simply . . . a brotherhood of the property-holders, the peaceable, law-abiding citizens of the State, for self-protection. The instinct of self-protection prompted that organization; the sense of insecurity and danger, particularly in those neighborhoods where the negro population largely predominated. The reasons which led to this organization were three or four. The first and main reason was the organization of the Union League [established by the Republican party to organize black voters] which we knew nothing more than this: that the negroes would desert the plantations, and go off at night in large numbers; and on being asked where they had been, would reply, sometimes, "We have been to the muster"; sometimes, "We have been to the lodge"; sometimes, "We have been to the meeting." . . . We knew that the "carpet-baggers," . . . these men came from a distance and had no interest at all with us. . . . We knew of certain instances where great crime had been committed; where overseers had been driven from plantations, and the negroes had asserted their right to hold the property for their own benefit. Apprehension took possession of the entire public mind of the State. Men were in many instances afraid to go away from their homes and leave their wives and children, for fear of outrage. . . . There was this general organization of the black race on the one hand and an entire disorganization of the white race on the other hand. We were afraid to have a public organization; because we supposed it would be construed at once, by the authorities at Washington, as an organization antagonistic to the Government of the United States.

**C.O.:** Did it have any antagonism toward either the State or the Federal Government?

Culver Pictures

*This engraving is from a photograph of three Klansmen in Mississippi who were caught after they attempted to murder a family.*

**J.B.G.:** None on earth—not a particle. On the contrary, it was purely a peace police organization, and I do know of some instances where it did prevent bloodshed on a large scale. . . .

**C.O.:** You had no riding about at nights?

**J.B.G.:** None on earth. I have no doubt that such things have occurred in Georgia. . . . There is not a good man in Georgia who does not deplore that thing just as much as any radical deplores it. When I use the term "radical," I do not mean to reflect upon the republican party generally; but in our State a republican is a very different sort of a man from a republican generally in the Northern States. In our State republicanism means nothing in the world but creating disturbance, riot, and animosity, and filching and plundering. That is what it means in our State—nothing else. . . . I do not believe that any crime has ever been committed by [the Klan]. . . . I believe it was purely a peace police—a law-abiding concern. That was its whole object, and it never would have existed but for the apprehension in the minds of our people of a conflict in which we would have had no sympathy and no protection. We apprehended that the sympathy of the entire Government would be against us; and nothing in the world but the instinct of self-protection prompted that organization. We felt that we must at any cost protect ourselves, our homes, our wives and children from outrage. We would have preferred death rather than to have submitted to what we supposed was coming upon us. . . .

*Excerpted from testimony found in Richard N. Current, ed., *Reconstruction [1865-1877]* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965), pp. 99-102.

# The Death of Reconstruction

**OBJECTIVES**

- Students will be able to discuss the political developments in the 1870's that provided the context for Klan violence and led to the destruction of Reconstruction.
- Students will be able to compare the reestablishment of white supremacy in the South, formalized in the "Compromise of 1877," with other examples of compromise between segments of white society at the expense of blacks.

**TIME REQUIRED**

One homework assignment and one class period.

**MATERIALS NEEDED**

- A copy for each student of excerpt from *Freedom Road* on the meeting between Ulysses S. Grant and Gideon Jackson, How Gideon Jackson Went to See a Tired Man (pp. 39-41).
- United States history textbooks for reference to the Constitutional Compromise of 1787, the Missouri Compromise of 1820, the Compromise of 1850 and the Compromise of 1877.

**TEACHER PREPARATION**

Teacher should be familiar with the selection from *Freedom Road* (pp. 39-41), section D of the Background Information, Death of Reconstruction (p. 13), and the major issues "resolved" by the compromises of 1787, 1820, 1850 and 1877.

**STUDENT PREPARATION**

Students will read the selection from *Freedom Road* prior to the class discussion.

**ASSIGNMENT PROCEDURE**

*Distribute* copies of the *Freedom Road* selection and *ask* students to read it before the next class. *Tell* them the selection is from a novel dealing with the Reconstruction period and that it offers historical information about events subsequent to the congressional hearings discussed in the previous class.

**CLASSROOM PROCEDURE**

1. *Initiate* a class discussion based on the *Freedom Road* selection. Some suggested questions and topics include:

a. What did Gideon Jackson mean when he said Reconstruction was essentially a test for democracy? What were some of the benefits he claimed Reconstruction brought blacks and poor whites?

b. What role did Jackson see the Klan playing? In what ways did the testimony presented at the congressional hearings support his view?

c. Political friends of President-elect Hayes are quoted as saying that he will adopt a policy that "will give the people of the States of South Carolina and Louisiana the right to control their own affairs in their own way." What does that statement really mean? Which people would get control of their own affairs? What was their "own way" of controlling them? Who would lose control of their affairs?

d. The deal that gave the election to Hayes and led to the withdrawal of federal troops is sometimes referred to as "the Compromise of 1877." Who were the people on each side who compromised? Whose rights were compromised away?

2. *Have* students refresh their memories about the compromises over slavery at the Constitutional Convention in 1787, the Missouri Compromise of 1820, and the Compromise of 1850 by checking the index of their U.S. history text and reading what the text states about the issues involved. *Divide* the class into fourths and assign each group to read about one of the compromises, having the fourth read what the text says about 1877. *Ask* students within each group to tell the class about the central issues involved.

Possible questions for discussion include:

a. What parallels can you see between the Compromise of 1877 and the three earlier compromises?

b. Who consistently lost out in each of these "compromises"?

c. Do your textbooks mention anyone's rights being compromised away or only that "the people" gained?

3. *Tell* students that in response to the Compromise of 1820, John Quincy Adams wrote in his diary that the conflict over admission of Missouri as a slave state was a "mere preamble—a title page to a great, tragic volume." Questions to ask students include:

a. What do you think he meant?

b. How did the Civil War, abolition of slavery, Reconstruction and the Compromise of 1877 contribute to that "tragic volume"?

c. How did the outcome of the test of democracy in the 1860's and 1870's affect events in the 1960's and 1970's?

**OPTIONAL FOLLOW-UP ACTIVITY**

*Have* students read *Freedom Road* by Howard Fast (available in paperback from Bantam Books). The book is an excellent historical novel that presents—through the fictionalized lives of blacks and whites—the promise of Reconstruction and the role of the Klan in destroying that promise. (Single examination copies are available from the School and College Dept., Bantam Books, 666 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10103 for $1.)

In class discussion, *have* students compare the life of people—black and poor white—at the beginning of the book with their lives at Carwell. How had the people and their lives changed? What were some of the causes of those changes? How did students' perceptions about and feelings toward the characters change?

Of particular value to emphasize in discussion would be:

a. The historical summary of the period before the South Carolina Convention (pp. 65-67 of the Bantam edition).

b. The after-dinner discussion about organizing the Klan (pp. 86-88).

c. The talk between Gideon Jackson, freed slave, and Abner Lait, poor white (pp. 109-115).

d. Anderson Clay's statement about blacks and poor whites wanting to build while the Klan wanted to destroy and organized to do so (p. 194).

e. Klan attacks (pp. 137-141, pp. 184-190, p. 201, all of Chapter Ten).

# How Gideon Jackson Went to See a Tired Man

(An Excerpt from a Novel about the Reconstruction Period)

The year is 1877. Gideon Jackson, a U.S. Representative from South Carolina and an ex-slave, is at the White House waiting to see President Ulysses S. Grant. Grant, hero of the Civil War, is in the last days of his eight-year presidency. While apparently an honest man himself, Grant's administration has been increasingly rocked by scandals of graft and corruption.

Gideon took out his watch and looked at it. It was twenty minutes to three, and he had been waiting since two o'clock. . . . Actually, he had very little to say here and now, and what he said, he was sure, would not be to too much effect.

Outside, on this bleak February day, it was snowing, Washington snow, large wet flakes that folded against the window panes and then dissolved into globs of cold moisture that wriggled down the glass. Gideon relaxed into the leather chair and folded his hands in his lap. At this moment, he felt, he would like to sleep, a long, long sleep such as he had not known for many months—just to sleep and be free of thinking for a time, and then to wake up, fresh and eager. But how eager could a man be at forty-five? . . .

He must have been sleeping. The secretary, standing in front of him, said:

"The president will see you now, Mr. Jackson."

Gideon rose, blinked his eyes, and followed the secretary to the office. Grant was sitting behind his desk, hunched, tired, red-eyed, a man defeated and lost and regarding the long, empty years before him without hope and without pleasure. He nodded and said:

"Sit down, Gideon," and then told his secretary, "I don't want to be interrupted."

"If Senator Gordon—"

"Tell him to go to hell! I won't talk to him, do you understand? I don't want to be interrupted!" The door closed behind the secretary. The president said to Gideon, "Do you want a cigar? No—I forgot, you don't smoke. You don't mind if I do?" He bit off the end of his cigar, struck a match, puffed long and deeply. Gideon watched him, but the president avoided his look. Age had come suddenly and ruthlessly on Ulysses Simpson Grant; his eyes were sunken, his beard streaked with gray. Even his smoking was in short, jagged, nervous motions. When he spoke, he barked at Gideon:

"I know what you're going to say."

"Then why did you let me come here and say it?" Gideon asked gently.

"Why?" Grant looked at him with sudden bewilderment, and Gideon felt a complete and understanding pity for this beaten, helpless man, this man who was understood by so few, loved by so few, used by so many, hated by so many, despised by so many, this man who by fate and circumstance had been elevated to a remote and hopeless glory.

"Why come here?" Grant said dully.

"Because you are still president of these United States," Gideon answered carefully. "Because you are my friend and I am yours—"

"So I have friends?"

"And because," Gideon went on, "when all is said and done, this is your country and you love it as few men I know do. You love it in a way that I understand, in a manner that is beyond the conception of the cheating, lying, small men who have done their best to wreck it. Do you remember Everett Hale's story, *The Man Without a Country?* Do you remember how Philip Nolan came to love and understand his native land?"

Grant smiled ruefully. "Are you going to preach me a sermon, Gideon?"

"No—I'm going to talk to you about this land. I'm going to talk because it's the last chance I'll have to talk to a president of the United States. I've tried for two weeks to see you—"

"I was busy, Gideon."

"You were busy, Mr. President," Gideon said. "That is all, you were busy. God help us, we have so many pat phrases, busy, occupied, a thousand things to do. Why aren't our enemies busy? Why?"

"I've heard all that," Grant said coldly.

"And you don't want to hear it again. At this time, you'd like me to go. Well, perhaps I can put it differently. Leaving aside what the newspapers have said and what the histories will say of the eight years during which you were president, what is the truth?"

"Say it—I was used!" Grant growled.

"I won't say that. My God, Mr. President, this is—well it's our country; let's use the schoolboy phrases, nothing else will do now. This is our native land. We fought for this. We lived for this, what men died at Gettysburg for. We don't exist apart from it, or from each other. It is all bound together, making one. What is a country?" Gideon hesitated, then went on, "What is the United States of America? Is it a dream, an ideal, a piece of paper called the Constitution, a coalition? Promoters? Grafters? Robber barons? Is it Morgan or Jay Gould or Senator Gordon? Or is it a man standing out in the street and looking at the White House?" Now Gideon spoke more haltingly, "Is it the Episcopal Church or the Congregational Church? Is it a prayer or a fool's fancy or fifty million men? Is it Congress? All the years I sat in Congress I thought of that, watching small men or great men, listening to fools like Peterson and heroes like Sumner. Or is it you and me, and bound into us, and inseparable from us—because what we are is America, what we have, what we've done, what we have dreamed!"

Grant's cigar had gone out. Clenched between his stubby fingers, it made a focus for his eyes. Slowly, automatically, he shook his head. "I'm through, Gideon."

"You're president."

"For a few more days—"

"For long enough to hit them!"

Grant said wearily, "But I don't know, Gideon. I'm tired. I'm finished. I want to go home and rest. I've been dragged through sewers. I want to go home and forget."

"You won't forget," Gideon said.

"Maybe. I'm no Solomon; I'm no God of judgment. I didn't ask for this. I won battles because I wasn't afraid to pay the price. Did that make me a president? Did that fit me to play their dirty, rotten game of politics?"

"There are still battles," Gideon said.

"When you don't know the enemy? When you don't know

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who fights on your own side?"

"And when Hayes slides into that chair where you're sitting, his legs knee-deep in blood, will you rest easy?"

"God damn it, Gideon, where are your facts? Hayes is a Republican; so am I; so are you. He was legally elected president. I am sick of the calamity howlers. Life will go on; so will this country—"

"All right," Gideon said, and rose.

"Are you going?"

"Yes."

"What were you going to say?"

"Why bother? It won't matter."

"God damn you, say it!" Grant growled. "Say it and get it done!"

"Do you want to hear it?"

"Stop being a prima donna and say it."

"All right," Gideon nodded. "There was a deal."

"Where is your proof?"

"I have the proof, sir," Gideon said quietly. "Will you listen to me for a while?"

"I've been listening." Grant lit his cigar. Gideon sat down again. The clock on Grant's desk showed a quarter of four. "I'll start a while back," Gideon began. Outside, it still snowed, fat, lazy white flakes that melted on the window panes. It was growing dark in the president's office. The single lamp on his desk threw a circle of yellow light, and as the darkness increased his face became more tired, more indistinguishable. The smoke from his cigar drifted into the light, twisting, turning, running up the chimney of the lamp.

"You remember the South Carolina Convention?" Gideon said. "That was nine years ago."

"I remember."

"In a way of speaking, that began the reconstruction. I served on the Convention. Two years later, I served a term in the State Senate, and five years ago I came to Congress. In the light of that, I think I can speak with some knowledge of what happened. The word *reconstruction*, which they use for all that happened in the south since 1868, is too pat. It is meaningless. It was not essentially a problem of reconstruction, not even a problem of readmission of the rebel states into the Union. All this I have said in the House; I have said it over and over, these five years past. I am saying it now, I suppose, for the record—for I think that this is the last time for a long while to come that a Negro representative of his people will sit in the office of the president of the United States."

Grant knocked the ashes off his cigar; now his face was lost in the shadow.

"What is reconstruction? What has it been? What has it meant? Why has it been destroyed? I ask you because you're the only man in the country who can bring it back to life—and doing so, save this country untold suffering and misery in the future."

"Go on, Gideon," Grant said.

"Reconstruction was the beginning of the new and the death of the old. The plantation slave system, a feudal thing, abhorrent to the nature of this country, only a few years ago set out to rule and conquer this nation. It had to be destroyed or it would destroy democracy. It was destroyed, and in the course of that destruction my people were freed. Do you want me to go on?"

"Go on," Grant said.

"Very well. Out of that terrible war came reconstruction —essentially a test for democracy, a test of whether freed Negroes and freed whites—for the poor white was as much a slave before the war as the black—could live and work and build together. I say that test was taken and proven, that democracy worked in the south—with all its faults, its blunders, its boasting extravagances, its fools and loud-mouths —with all that, it worked! For the first time in the history of this nation, black men and white men together built a democracy in the south. You have the proof, the schools, the farms, the just courts, a whole literate, eager generation. But this was not done easily and never done completely; the planters organized their army, white-shirted scum by the thousands. They haven't given up. You yourself, Mr. President, said that only the presence of Union troops in the south preserves order. I tell you, the day Rutherford B. Hayes takes office, those troops will be withdrawn—and the Klan will strike. In one form or another, it will strike everywhere, and there will be terror such as this land never knew, murder and destruction and burning and looting, until every vestige of that democracy we built is destroyed. We will be put back a hundred years, and for generations to come men will suffer and die—"

Grant's voice came wearily, as from a great distance. "Even if I accepted what you say, Gideon, and I don't accept it, what is the alternative? To keep troops in the south forever?"

"Not forever. But for ten years more—to give us a chance to bring to manhood a whole new generation, black men and white men who have learned to work together, to stand together. Then no force on earth will take away from us what we have built."

"I don't accept that, Gideon. I don't accept your accusation of Hayes. I don't accept your fanciful notion of the power of the Klan. This is 1877."

"You wanted proof," Gideon said. "I have the proof." He took some papers out of his pocket, spread them on the desk in the lamplight. "Here are the statistics of the election. The popular vote for Tilden is 4,300,000, and Hayes' popular vote is 4,036,000. That is the first lie; I say that half a million Negroes and whites in the south who voted the Republican ticket had their votes destroyed, miscounted, tampered with. No, I can't prove that; I'll prove other things later. Actually, it does not matter; these two men, Tilden and Hayes, are both corrupt, sad commentaries on what our presidency has sunk to. They are Tweedledum and Tweedledee, cut out of the same cloth."

"So far," Grant said, "you are making groundless accusations. I won't listen to much more of that, Gideon."

"You said you would listen. I'll give you proof; first let me establish my facts. Even our Congress, which fears democracy and the people more than anything on earth, will let me establish my facts when I rise to speak. I'll be quick with it. My boy, whom I haven't seen for a long while, is coming in on the five-sixteen train from New York; I assure you I'll be through before then."

The room was quite dark now outside of the circle of yellow light. "Go on," Grant said.

"We come to the electoral votes, 184 for Tilden, the Democrat, for Hayes, the Republican 166 undisputed votes. With one more vote, Tilden could be president, but Hayes claimed South Carolina, Louisiana and Florida, enough to give him the 185 that would make him president. And Hayes was right—those votes belonged to him; as I said, they were tampered with, destroyed. What was the situation? A Democrat-

ic House, a Republican Senate, one to give the election to Tilden, the other to Hayes, and the whole country screaming of the second Civil War, of a southern march on Washington. Mr. President, did you believe that? Did you believe there was a difference between these two corrupt men?"

Grant said, "God damn you, Gideon, I've listened to enough!"

"I come to the proof now, Mr. President. Let me give you the proof, and then I'll go. I think we are both through. As you said, you have only a few days to be president, and I have not too much time either."

"Go on," Grant muttered.

"Yes—evidently our southern Democrats knew that the two men were of a stripe. They threw Tilden aside; he would be too much trouble; they had risked a civil war once and they had failed; they were not prepared to risk it again. They made their deal with Hayes. He could have South Carolina, Florida, Louisiana—and to make the deal certain, Oregon, too. In return, he would give them a very small and inconsequential thing, control of South Carolina and Louisiana, and withdrawal of Union troops from the south. Such a small matter to stand between a man and the presidency, between the Republican party, Lincoln's party and power! Here is the proof, a record made by two of Mr. Hayes' friends, Stanley Matthews and Charles Foster. It gives the gist of certain talks they had with Senator John B. Gordon of Georgia and the Kentucky Congressman, Mr. J. Young Brown. This is an exact copy, made and brought to me by a colored servant of Mr. Foster; I will swear to that. I'll read it:

*"'Referring to the conversation we had with you yesterday in which Governor Hayes' policy as to the status of certain southern states was discussed, we desire to say that we can assure you in the strongest possible manner of our great desire to have him adopt such a policy as will give the people of the States of South Carolina and Louisiana the right to control their own affairs in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States and the laws made in persuance thereof, and to say further that from an acquaintance with and knowledge of Governor Hayes and his views, we have the most complete confidence that such will be the policy of his administration.'

"There it is, Mr. President."

A long silence then; and finally Grant asked tonelessly, "Why don't you bring it before the House?"

"Because I haven't the original, because while I am prepared to swear on a stack of Bibles that this is the truth, I cannot bring evidence; I cannot set the word of a poor old colored servant against that of the president elect of the United States. If I were to stand up in the House and say to them what I just said to you, ten of our cultured Bourbon members would be screaming that this damned, insolent, lying nigger be lynched."

"Why should I believe you?"

"Because the whole future of this country is at stake. Because when we fought our revolution, when we fought our civil war, we were moving down a proud and shining road, what my people call a hallelujah road. We were moving with all the good men who lived behind us, and we had our faces turned to God. Do you hear me, Mr. President? Now we're going to leave that road; from here on, we turn our face to darkness. For how long, Mr. President? How many shall have to die before we can call this a government of the people, by them and for them?"

"It's not as bad as that—" Grant began.

"But it is!"

Grant stood up, lifting himself from his chair with both hands, leaning over into the lamplight, staring at Gideon, and then pushing away from the table and striding angrily across the room.

"That's all?" Gideon asked.

"What can I do?" Grant demanded, whirling on him. "Even if your insane, fairy-tale of a story were true, what in God's name could I do?"

"Everything. You're still president. Give this to the people. Hold a press conference tomorrow; there are papers with guts enough to print this. Let Hayes prove the accusation false. Throw this whole rotten thing open and let the people look at it. They'll know what to do. We're not a bad people, here in America; we're not an ignorant people. We've moved the world before; we've done bad things, but we've done more good things. Go before Congress and demand the truth—"

Grant shook his head. "Gideon—"

"Are you afraid?" Gideon cried. "What have you to lose? Those who remember the days when you led them to victory, they'll support you. And the others—" Gideon's voice trailed away.

He gathered up the papers and put them in his pocket. "All right. I'll go now."

After Gideon had left, long after, Grant sat at his desk, face sunk in his hands, staring at the closed door.

*This document may be found in Williams' *Life of Rutherford B. Hayes*, Vol. I, p. 533.

# The Beginnings of White Supremacy

**OBJECTIVES**

- Students will be able to state in their own words the meaning of white supremacy.
- Students will be able to cite some of the factors that led to the development of white supremacy.

**TIME REQUIRED**

One class period.

**MATERIALS NEEDED**

- Copy for each student of The Roots of White Supremacy (p. 46).

**TEACHER PREPARATION**

Teacher should read and be familiar with the discussion of White Supremacy: Seeds of the Bitter Harvest (pp. 43-45).

**CLASSROOM PROCEDURE**

1. *Write* the word "supreme" on the chalkboard and *develop* the following definition with students:

SUPREME: highest in rank and authority; holding or exercizing power that cannot be exceeded or overruled.

2. *Write* the word "supremacy" on the chalkboard and *develop* the following definition with students:

SUPREMACY: the quality or state of being supreme; supreme authority or power; the position of being accepted or established as superior to all others in some field or activity.

3. Once the definition of "supremacy" has been developed, *ask* students what is meant by *white supremacy*. The discussion should bring out that white supremacy involves both white control of authority and power as well as an ideology justifying that control by claiming whites are superior to all others.

4. *Tell* students that in 1868 prospective members of the Klan had to satisfactorily answer ten questions before being allowed to join the group. One of the questions asked whether they opposed black equality (social and political) and favored a white-run government.* *Ask* students to recall why the Klan evolved in the Reconstruction era. *Ask* students to recall what interests were threatened by Reconstruction and what targets the Klan attacked.

5. *Ask* students if they think belief in white supremacy has always existed. How and why do they think it might have started?

6. *Distribute* copies of The Roots of White Supremacy. *Ask* students to read it. Possible discussion topics include:

a. Why did belief in, and theories about, white supremacy develop? Whose interests did it serve?

b. What was the role of economic gain in the development of white supremacy?

c. What were relations like between white and black workers before slavery became entrenched? What were some of their common interests and concerns?

d. Why did those who benefitted from slavery have to actively keep white people and black people from interacting? Who was harmed by the separation and in what ways?

e. In what ways are the Klan's activities today similar to the "private vigilante associations and racial purists who whipped the doubtful into line" mentioned in The Roots of White Supremacy?

**OPTIONAL FOLLOW-UP ACTIVITY**

Encourage students to further explore any of the issues mentioned above through reports and papers. In addition to Lerone Bennett, Jr.'s *Confrontation: Black and White* (Penguin Books, 1965), the following sources contain additional information on the development of the concept of white supremacy:

Lerone Bennett, Jr., *Before the Mayflower: A History of Black America* (Chicago: Johnson Publishing Co., 1969);

George M. Fredrickson, *White Supremacy: A Comparative Study in American and South African History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981). A detailed and informative account of the similarities and differences in the development of white supremacy in South Africa and the United States;

Winthrop D. Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1968). See particularly the chapter "Unthinking Decision: Enslavement of Negroes in America to 1700," pp. 44-98 (most of this chapter is reprinted in *The Underside of American History* cited below);

C. Eric Lincoln, *The Negro Pilgrimage in America* (New York: Bantam Books, 1969). See "Origins" and "Early Bondage," pp. 1-13; and

Wilcomb E. Washburn, "The Moral and Legal Justifications for Dispossessing the Indians," in *The Underside of American History: Other Readings*, Vol. 1, ed. Thomas R. Frazier (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1971), pp. 11-28. Contains a discussion of early Christian justification for colonization.

*Allen W. Trelease, *White Terror: The Ku Klux Klan Conspiracy and Southern Reconstruction* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971).

# White Supremacy: Seeds of the Bitter Harvest

White supremacy involves the control of political and economic power and authority by whites. The term also refers to the system of belief that claims the *right* of whites to this control because, according to this belief, whites are inherently superior to all other peoples.

White supremacy got its start long ago, as Europeans became familiar with people in Asia, Africa and the Americas. At first perhaps the Europeans thought that their cultures, religion, values and traditions were better than those of others. Such thinking is not uncommon, since those things with which we are most familiar often seem better than things that are strange and unfamiliar. This type of belief is known as ethnocentrism.

While differences of color and customs between Europeans and the peoples of Africa, Asia and the Americas contributed to an overall sense of "difference," there was initially no systematic thinking about racial superiority. (In fact, differences of religion rather than color were the primary focus during early years of European colonization; colonizers often justified their actions by claiming that "pagans" had no right to their lands or even their lives.[1]) The concept of racial superiority needed time to develop. More important, it needed a reason to develop; it had to serve a purpose.

In 1619 a Dutch ship brought a group of captured Africans to the English colony of Virginia. For the first few years, black people were treated like the majority of whites who were indentured servants—required to provide a period of work to a master as payment for passage to America before being eligible for freedom. Indentured servitude provided the labor needed to produce wealth from colonies which had been established by commercial interests.

Some blacks enjoyed social privileges about equal to those enjoyed by freed white servants and generally had the same industrial and economic opportunities. What racial prejudice existed was individual, not organized and sustained by the will and power of the entire community. Historian Lerone Bennett, Jr., tells us that:

> The bulk of the population at that time consisted of indentured servants who were remarkably free from racial prejudice. Whites and Negroes worked in the same fields, lived in the same huts and fraternized during off-duty hours. And, predictably, they mated and married. There was widespread intermingling between Negroes and whites throughout the Colonial period. . . .
>
> In this period, little or no distinction was made between indentured servants and Negro slaves and servants. What little prejudice there was stemmed mostly from English class prejudice. White servants and Negro servants were assigned the same tasks and many masters held them in equal contempt. It was not unusual in those days for a master to force a white woman servant to marry a Negro; nor was it unusual for Negro servants to serve as overseers over Negro and white work forces. Of particular interest in this context of developing community is the fact that whites and Negroes of the working class made common cause against the master class. They often ran away together; and, in several communities, they staged interracial revolts.
>
> Working together in the same field, sharing the same huts, the same situation, and the same hope, the first Negro and white Americans, aristocrats excepted, developed strong bonds of sympathy and mutuality. There was no barrier, psychological or otherwise, between them; and circles of community and solidarity began to widen. Skin color had a meaning then but not the meaning it has now. The basic division was between servants and free people; and there were whites and Negroes on both sides of the line.[2]

Evidence shows that within 20 years, by 1640, some masters were beginning to claim the right to hold black servants for life, instead of just for a period of indenture. The condition of slavery was then to become hereditary—passed on from mother to children. As the enslavement of Africans developed, indentured servitude among Europeans declined.

Slavery developed because it was of economic benefit to the planters: forced labor produced great wealth for those who controlled the labor of numerous slaves. The economies of many of the Southern colonies were based on the production of limited agricultural crops raised for cash sale, such as tobacco and, later, cotton. Those who owned the land and the crop wanted to make as much money as they could. More wealth could be made with a cheap, permanent and mobile slave labor population than with a work force consisting of people working only for a set period of time and with rights that planters had to respect.

While there is evidence of the enslavement of some Africans by 1640 in Virginia and Maryland, it was not until 1660 that slave codes were enacted by colonial legislatures controlled by men of property. These codes made the enslavement of black people a legal, government-recognized system. By 1700, large numbers of African people were being kidnapped and brought to the colonies as slaves. From then until 1865, slavery was an integral part of the economic, social and political fabric of U.S. society.

As the economic system of slavery developed, so too did belief and theory that justified enslaving and dehumanizing a group of human beings and their descendants for life. Slavery had existed in many other societies throughout history, but slavery as it developed in the United States was especially dehumanizing and oppressive. Slaves in the U.S. were denied such basic human rights as marriage and family. They had no legal rights nor protection from whatever their masters might choose to do. They were considered less than human and classified as property (chattel), no different from farm animals. Over time, black people held in slavery

[1] Reflecting the attitudes of the period, Pope Nicholas V told Portugal's king in 1455 that he had the right to enslave the persons and seize the lands and property of "all pagans whatsoever, and all other enemies of Christ wheresoever placed." Similarly, Queen Elizabeth I told Walter Raleigh he had the right to "discover, search, find out, and view such remote, heathen and barbarous lands, countries, and territories, not actually possessed of any Christian Prince, nor inhabited by Christian people" and had the right to "have, hold, occupy, and enjoy" those lands. For some 200 years, European colonizers utilized this justification. For further discussion see "The Moral and Legal Justifications for Dispossessing the Indians" by Wilcomb E. Washburn in *Seventeenth-Century America: Essays in Colonial History*, edited by James Morton Smith (Chapel Hill, N.C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1959), pp. 15-32. Also see *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest* by Francis Jennings (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), pp. 3-7.

[2] Lerone Bennett, Jr., *Confrontation: Black and White* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1965), p. 16.

*White supremacy involves the subjugation of people of color for the benefit of whites. The ideology of white supremacy was developed to justify the exploitation of people of color.*

became totally dehumanized in the eyes of white society. The belief system justifying slavery had its roots in the 1600's, although it was much more fully developed later, when the system of slavery was under strong attack.

In the early 1600's, the English colonists referred to themselves as "Christians," distinguishing themselves from non-Christian Indians and Africans. Initially, the enslavement of Africans in the English colonies was justified more because they were "heathen" than because they were black. Citing differences in religion as a justification declined as Africans became converted to Christianity. Moreover, this raised the question of whether Christians could rightfully enslave other Christians. Biblical support was readily provided by preachers whose livelihood depended on the slaveholders, and the dilemma was solved by increased emphasis on racial differences.

Over the following decades, as the practice of slavery spread, the significance of race as an explanation for slavery grew. By the mid-1600's, the term "Christian" had begun to give way to the terms "English" and "free" to differentiate whites from Africans and Indians. After 1680, once slavery had become codified into law, a new term came to be used more frequently to describe those who were Christian, English and free—"white." Over time, there developed a theory which claimed that blacks were inherently inferior and less than human—and thus it was acceptable to enslave them. In fact, the theory was ultimately to claim that slavery was a benefit to Africans.

However, legally enslaving black people and promoting belief in black inferiority and white superiority were not, by themselves, sufficient. Human beings—black and white—continued to interact. They laughed and cried together, talked over problems and hopes, frustrations and fears, cared for one another, showed concern and love for one another. In all this, they gave the lie to the developing doctrine of fundamental racial differences. Again, Lerone Bennett, Jr., discusses what occurred:

> Beginning around 1660, the planter class drafted and passed laws that made Negroes servants for life. . . . Having made one step, the white power structure had to take another, more ominous step. . . . [I]t requires rigid training, long persisted in, to make a slave or a slaveholder. . . .
>
> The Negro and white working class of the 1660's, the bulk of the population, had not been prepared for the roles outlined in the new script of statutes. It was necessary, therefore, to teach Negroes and whites that they should not and could not deal with each other on the basis of reciprocity and emotion and relation. And this, remarkably enough, proved exceedingly difficult.
>
> The forced breaking of the bond can be traced with precision in the emotionally-toned areas of love and sex. . . . Fearing deterioration of slavery if the boundaries between white and black people were dissolved in the caldron of sexual intimacy, the planter class mobilized every unit of power for an assault on intermingling. Legislatures began to grind out laws of every imaginable description. Virginia legislated against intermingling in 1662, 1691, 1696, 1705, 1753, 1765. There were similar legislative paroxysms in other states. Maryland passed anti-amalgamation laws in 1664, 1681, 1715, 1717. The sentiment of the aristocratic lawmakers leaped out from the dry statutes in words like "spurious issue," "disgrace of the nation," "defiling."
>
> Private vigilante associations and racial purists whipped the doubtful into line. Behind the purists and the good grey lawmak-

ers stood . . . parsons who blessed the rupture in community with words from the Holy Bible. But, astoundingly, nothing worked. Against the law as revealed by the parson and the legislator, intermarriage and intermingling continued in America for more than one hundred years. [People] would say later that there was a natural antipathy between Negroes and whites that no law could mitigate. But the record belies them. Negroes and whites were taught hate and fear. They were driven apart by symbols, sermons, and signed papers. Every instrument of persuasion—law, religion, prison, banishment—was used to destroy the developing bonds of community between Negro and white Americans.

Who was responsible for this policy?

The planters, the aristocrats, the parsons, the lawyers, the Founding Fathers—the good people: they sowed the seeds of the bitter harvest.[3]

[3]Ibid., pp. 22-23.

White supremacy—both in terms of control of power and wealth and in terms of the belief in the superiority of whites over people of other races—was born in this period, though it had been conceived long before and was to expand much more powerfully in the future. Although white supremacy was directly related to the development of slavery, it has long outlived the practice of slavery. White supremacy continues today in terms of white control of authority and wealth. It continues as well in the beliefs used to justify that control and justify the advantages the system provides for whites, particularly those whites who reap most from the bitter harvest. And as recent Klan activities demonstrate (p. 24), it continues in the form of "private vigilante associations and racial purists" who function to whip the doubtful in line, to attack those blacks and whites who challenge the structure and belief system of white supremacy.

# The Roots of White Supremacy

In 1619, a ship appeared at Jamestown, Virginia. Twenty Africans, recently captured from a Spanish vessel, were on board. The captain offered to exchange the Africans for needed food. Historian Lerone Bennett, Jr., tells us what happened:

> The twenty black seeds of Jamestown were farmed out to various officials of the colony . . . as servants and not slaves. . . . The first black immigrants were not slaves; nor were the first white immigrants free. Most of the English colonists, in the beginning, were indentured servants: that is, they were sold or they sold themselves to the colony or to individual planters for a stipulated number of years (five or seven or more) to pay the price of their passage [to America].
>
> In Virginia and other colonies, the first black immigrants fell into a well-established socio-economic pattern that carried no implications of racial inferiority. During this transitional period of 40 years or more . . . the first Negro immigrants mingled with whites on a basis of substantial equality. . . . By 1649, there were three hundred black folk in a population of about fifteen thousand. . . . Negro freedmen seem to have had the same industrial and economic opportunities as white servants. . . . Whites and Negroes worked in the same fields, lived in the same huts and fraternized during off-duty hours. And, predictably, they mated and married. There was widespread intermingling between Negroes and whites throughout the Colonial period. . . .
>
> In this period, little or no distinction was made between [white] indentured servants and Negro slaves and servants. What little prejudice there was stemmed mostly from English class prejudice. White servants and Negro servants were assigned the same tasks and many masters held them in equal contempt. It was not unusual in those days for a master to force a white woman servant to marry a Negro; nor was it unusual for Negro servants to serve as overseers over Negro and white work forces. Of particular interest in this context of developing community is the fact that whites and Negroes of the working class made common cause against the master class. They often ran away together; and, in several communities, they staged interracial revolts.
>
> Working together in the same field, sharing the same huts, the same situation, and the same hope, the first Negro and white Americans, aristocrats excepted, developed strong bonds of sympathy and mutuality. There was no barrier, psychological or otherwise, between them; and circles of community and solidarity began to widen. Skin color had a meaning then but not the meaning it has now. The basic division was between servants and free people; and there were whites and Negroes on both sides of the line.
>
> In the crucial period between 1640 and 1660 . . . an increasingly large number of colonists were falling into the habit of regarding incoming Africans as servants for life. . . . Beginning around 1660, the planter class drafted and passed laws that made Negroes servants for life. . . . Having made one step, the white power structure had to take another, more ominous, step. . . . It requires rigid training, long persisted in, to make a slave or a slaveholder. . . .
>
> The Negro and white working class of the 1660's, the bulk of the population, had not been prepared for the roles outlined in the new script of statutes. It was necessary, therefore, to teach Negroes and whites that they should not and could not deal with each other on the basis of reciprocity and emotion and relation. And this, remarkably enough, proved exceedingly difficult.
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> The forced breaking of the bond can be traced with precision in the emotionally-toned areas of love and sex. . . . [T]he planter class mobilized every unit of power for an assault on intermingling. Legislatures began to grind out laws of every imaginable description. Virginia legislated against intermingling in 1662, 1691, 1696, 1705, 1753, 1765. There were similar legislative paroxysms in other states. Maryland passed anti-amalgamation laws in 1664, 1681, 1715, 1717. . . .
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> Private vigilante associations and racial purists whipped the doubtful into line. Behind the purists and the good grey lawmakers stood . . . parsons who blessed the rupture in community with words from the Holy Bible. But, astoundingly, nothing worked. Against the law as revealed by the parson and the legislator, intermarriage and intermingling continued in America for more than one hundred years. [People] would say later that there was a natural antipathy between Negroes and whites that no law could mitigate. But the record belies them. Negroes and whites were taught hate and fear. They were driven apart by symbols, sermons, and signed papers. Every instrument of persuasion —law, religion, prison, banishment—was used to destroy the developing bonds of community between Negro and white Americans.
>
> Who was responsible for this policy?
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> The planters, the aristocrats, the parsons, the lawyers, the Founding Fathers—the good people: they sowed the seeds of the bitter harvest.*

White supremacy—both in terms of control of power and wealth and in terms of the belief in the superiority of whites over people of other races—was born in this period, though it had been conceived long before and was to expand much more powerfully in the future. Although white supremacy was directly related to the development of slavery, it has long outlived the practice of slavery. White supremacy continues today in terms of white control of authority and wealth. It continues as well in the beliefs used to justify that control and justify the advantages the system provides for whites, particularly those whites who reap most from the bitter harvest. And as recent Klan activities clearly demonstrate, it continues in the form of "private vigilante associations and racial purists" who function to whip the doubtful into line, to attack those blacks and whites who challenge the structure and belief system of white supremacy.

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*Excerpted from Lerone Bennett, Jr., *Confrontation: Black and White* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1965), pp. 14-23.

# The Klan in the 1920's

## OBJECTIVES

- Students will state in their own words some of the factors that contributed to the Klan's phenomenal growth in the 1920's.
- Students will be able to identify some of the groups targeted by the Klan during its period of greatest membership.
- Students will examine the anti-Catholic rhetoric of the Klan in light of the later assimilation of Catholics into the society.
- Students will contrast the decline of the Klan's anti-Catholicism with the continuation of its anti-black and anti-Semitic positions.

## TIME REQUIRED

One homework assignment and one class period.

## MATERIALS NEEDED

- A copy for each student of Background Information sections on Rapid Social Changes, Reactions to Social Change and The Klan Declines (pp. 14-15).
- A copy of KKK Beliefs about Catholics (p. 49).

## TEACHER PREPARATION

Teacher should be familiar with the content of all the readings.

## STUDENT PREPARATION

Students should read Background Information sections in advance of class period.

## ASSIGNMENT PROCEDURE

1. *Tell* students that during the next period they will study the Klan in the 1920's, when its membership was at its peak (3½ to 5 million) and it was strong throughout the country.

2. *Distribute* copies of Background Information sections and *ask* students to read materials before next class. *Ask* them to pay special attention to the social changes that took place during the period and some of the reactions to those changes.

## CLASSROOM PROCEDURE

1. *Initiate* a class discussion of the reading assignment, using the following suggested questions:

   a. How might you best describe the period of the 1920's? (A period of rapid social changes.)

   b. What were some of the social changes taking place during this period? (World War I had just ended, many blacks moved North to work, returning black veterans expected rights, the Russian Revolution stirred fears of Communism, workers were organizing into unions, the economy was depressed for a few years, women were struggling for their rights, large-scale immigration resumed.) *Write* responses on chalkboard.

   c. What were some responses to these social changes? (Many welcomed changes that led to improvements in their lives; others were worried and sought support in groups like the Klan that promised to maintain "Americanism.")

   d. What were some of the groups the Klan attacked? (Blacks, Catholics, Jews, immigrants, union organizers, whites who engaged in "immoral" activities.) *Write* responses on the chalkboard.

2. *Tell* the class that because so much of the Klan's activity in the 1920's involved anti-Catholicism, it is useful to analyze some of the Klan's anti-Catholic statements from

Brown Brothers

*Klan membership reached its height in the 1920's when an estimated 3½ to 5 million enrolled. Shows of strength such as the Independence Day parade in 1924 above were frequent.*

that period. *Use* one copy of KKK Beliefs about Catholics, *giving* it to individual students and *asking* each of them to read one of the quotes aloud. Discussion questions might include:

a. What were some of the anti-Catholic accusations made by the Klan? (That the Catholic church was attempting to take over the U.S. government and run it from Rome, that Catholics were not Americans, that Catholicism was an "alien dogma," that Catholics threatened to overwhelm native-born white Protestants.)

b. Why do you think the Klan was able to appeal to so many white Protestants with statements of this nature? (There was a lot of prejudice and stereotyping about Catholics, who were then a growing minority of the U.S. population; Catholic immigrants arriving from Europe seemed alien to native-born white Protestants and were thus an easy scapegoat; many native-born white Protestants feared that Catholic immigrants would compete with them for employment.)

c. At the time these statements were made, many white Protestants believed them. What do we know today that shows how incorrect these anti-Catholic claims were? (Catholics are now involved in all aspects of U.S. society, Catholic organizations are now involved in political matters, Catholics are naturally accepted as citizens and Americans, there has been a Catholic president, it is obvious that the Catholic church has not "taken over control" of the United States.)

d. At the time the Klan was making these slanderous statements about Catholics, it was making similar statements about blacks and Jews. Of the three groups, only blacks and Jews are still Klan targets today. What factors may have contributed to the lessening of Klan attacks on Catholics? (Most Catholics being attacked in the 1920's were white and thus they and their descendants could more easily assimilate into the dominant white, Christian society over a few generations than could blacks and Jews.)

e. While all the other quotes are from the 1920's, the quote from the young Klansman in Oklahoma (No. 8) is a *recent* quote. What does it suggest about contemporary Klan beliefs about Catholics?

**3.** *Mention* that the quote from Imperial Wizard Simmons (No. 7) reflected the thinking of the Klan and of many eminent white scholars and government officials about the dangers of immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe, as well as from Mexico, Japan and elsewhere. These concerns led Congress to adopt immigration restrictions in the mid-1920's that penalized all but Northern European immigrants. *Ask* students what immigrant groups are being attacked by the Klan and others today. (People from Latin America, Haiti, Cuba, Vietnam and other Southeast Asian countries.)

**4.** *Develop* with students the idea that beliefs about the inferiority and superiority of various European nationalities have in general disappeared, although there are still traces of ethnic prejudice and discrimination. Catholics and descendants of some European nationalities previously considered "inferior" are now able to join some Klan factions that attack blacks, Jews and immigrants from Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean. *Ask* students what they might say to some of these prospective Klan members given what they have learned about attacks on immigrants and Catholics in the 1920's.

# KKK Beliefs about Catholics

1. Imperial Wizard Evans said, "We shall steadfastly oppose the political interference of Roman Catholic organizations in political matters in America." (*Hoods*, p. 42)

2. Klan lecturers in Oregon in the 1920's made statements such as "the Roman Octopus [the Vatican] has taken over control in the nation's capital" and "this is a white, Protestant and Gentile man's country, and they are going to run it." (*Hooded Americanism*, p. 86)

3. The Exalted Cyclops of Portland, Oregon, once remarked that "the only way to cure a Catholic is to kill him." (*Hoods*, p. 39)

4. "As one American I stand before you to contend that we have enough real red-blooded Protestant American citizens to swear with our hand raised to heaven that we will float our horses in blood to their bridles before we will see a Roman Catholic sitting in our presidential chair." (*Hoods*, p. 39)

5. A Klan slogan in Denver, Colorado, was "Catholics, you are not Americans." (*Hoods*, p. 46)

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*Hoods: The Story of the Ku Klux Klan* by Robert P. Ingalls (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1979).

*Hooded Americanism: The History of the Ku Klux Klan* by David M. Chalmers (New York: New Viewpoints, 1981).

6. A Klan lecturer in Indiana was attacking the pope. Working the crowd into a frenzy, he said: "He may even be on the northbound train tomorrow! He may! He may! Be warned! Prepare! America is for Americans! Search everywhere for hidden enemies, vipers at the heart's blood of our sacred Republic! Watch the trains!" The next day, more than a thousand people were gathered when the northbound train arrived. The only passenger who got off was a corset salesman who was grilled for a half hour before the crowd was convinced he was not the pope in disguise. (*Hooded Americanism*, p. 162)

7. Imperial Wizard Simmons said, "What were the dangers which the white men saw threatening to crush and overwhelm Anglo-Saxon civilization? The dangers were in the tremendous influx of foreign immigration, tutored in alien dogmas and alien creeds, flowing in from all climes and slowly pushing the native-born white American population into the center of the country, there to be ultimately overwhelmed and smothered." (*Hooded Americanism*, p. 113)

8. "The only people we won't let in are girls, blacks, Jews or dope-smokers and we might consider Catholics, if the time comes." (A sixteen-year-old Klan member in Oklahoma City quoted in *The Kansas City Times*, January 26, 1978)

# The Civil Rights Era

## OBJECTIVES

- Students will be able to identify some of the areas of social interaction in which legally sanctioned racial segregation in the United States was overturned during the 1955-1968 Civil Rights era.
- Students will be able to compare the role the Klan played in fighting Reconstruction in the 1860's and in fighting desegregation in the 1960's.
- Students will be able to contrast the Klan's white supremacist attitudes and violence with Martin Luther King, Jr.'s belief in racial equality and nonviolent resistance.

## TIME REQUIRED

One homework assignment and one class period.

## MATERIALS NEEDED

- Copies for each student of the excerpt, The Civil Rights Revolution (p. 51).
- Copies for each student of Background Information section G, The Civil Rights Era (pp. 16-17).
- Copies for each student of the excerpt by Martin Luther King, Jr. (p. 52).

## TEACHER PREPARATION

Teacher should be familar with the Background Information section on the Civil Rights era, the excerpt from *Inquiring about Freedom* and the Martin Luther King, Jr., excerpt. If possible, it would be desirable for the teacher to read additional material by Martin Luther King, Jr.

## STUDENT PREPARATION

Students will read the excerpt, The Civil Rights Revolution from *Inquiring about Freedom*, the Background Information section on the Civil Rights Era and the excerpt by Dr. King prior to the class discussion.

## ASSIGNMENT PROCEDURE

1. *Ask* one student to individually research Rosa Parks and be prepared to report briefly to the class on who she is, what she did, and the story of the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott of 1956.
2. *Ask* another student to individually research the 1963 desegregation struggle in Birmingham, Alabama, and be prepared to report briefly to the class about it and the tactics used by Eugene "Bull" Connor and others to counter it.
3. *Ask* another student to individually research Martin Luther King, Jr., and be prepared to report briefly to the class on his efforts to achieve equality and his philosophy of nonviolent resistance.

## CLASSROOM PROCEDURE

1. *Ask* students to identify and list on chalkboard areas of life where segregation by race was maintained in this country by state and local Jim Crow laws at the start of the 1950's. (Schools, buses, trains, restaurants, lunch counters, restrooms, fitting rooms, drinking fountains, libraries, parks, swimming pools, voting, housing.)
2. *Ask* student to report to the class on Rosa Parks and the 1956 Montgomery bus boycott. *Discuss* its effects.
3. *Ask* student to report to the class on the 1963 demonstrations in Birmingham, Alabama, and on Eugene "Bull" Connor. *Discuss* the outcome of the demonstrations. (The impact of the media—especially television—on public opinion should be noted.)
4. *Initiate* a class discussion concerning the reactions of the Klan to the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's. Suggested questions, based on the Background Information readings, include:
   a. How were Klan acts in the 1960's similar to those in the 1860's? (Violence and terrorism against those involved in social change promoting racial equality.)
   b. Compare the Klan's role in the 1960's to its role in the 1860's. (During Reconstruction, the Klan fought against new state governments; in the 1960's, the Klan was allied with established, racist state governments. During the 1860's, the Klan worked to defeat existing civil rights laws; during the 1960's, the Klan supported existing segregation laws. In both cases, local authorities—including the police—often supported the Klan's actions and openly opposed change and racial equality.)
   c. What were the outcomes of the 1860's and 1960's civil rights struggles? (Reconstruction, opposed by the Klan, was destroyed by 1877 and legal segregation was gradually instituted in the South; in the 1960's local segregation laws, supported by the Klan, were overturned and federal legislation to protect civil rights was passed.)
5. *Ask* student to report on Martin Luther King, Jr.'s efforts to achieve racial equality, and his philosophy of nonviolent resistance and peaceful social change.
6. *Refer* to the excerpt by Martin Luther King and *discuss* King's reaction to the violence instigated by the Klan following the desegregation agreement in Birmingham. *Ask* students to identify differences between the Klan's philosophy and actions and King's philosophy and actions. (White supremacy and violence; racial equality and nonviolent resistance.)
7. *Discuss* the gains of the Civil Rights era with students, referring to the areas of "legal" segregation identified in the first procedure and noting that such segregation is no longer overtly mandated by law in those areas. *Tell* students that segregation and discrimination nevertheless still exist in many areas, including housing, employment, health care, education, etc.

## OPTIONAL FOLLOW-UP ACTIVITIES

1. *Show* and *discuss* the 30-minute film about Martin Luther King, *Legacy of a Dream* (available from Film Images, 17 W. 60th St., New York, NY 10023).
2. *Show* and *discuss* the four-part filmstrip program, *Martin Luther King* (available from Media Basics, Larchmont Plaza, Larchmont, NY 10538).
3. *Play* and/or *sing* and *discuss* the words to the song *We Shall Overcome*.
4. *Ask* students to read and report on various aspects of the Civil Rights struggle described in "Stayed on Freedom," a special issue of *Southern Exposure* (available from P.O. Box 531, Durham, NC 27702).

# The Civil Rights Revolution

May 17, 1954, was an important day in the history of the United States. On that date the Supreme Court ruled that racial segregation in the public schools was unconstitutional. The ruling was made in a case known as *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, which had been brought before the Supreme Court by attorneys for the NAACP. By a vote of 9-0, the Court reversed its earlier decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson*. It declared that "separate educational facilities are inherently [by their very nature] unequal," and that blacks were therefore being denied the rights guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment.

The Court's decision was greeted with mixed feelings. Many whites in the North and nearly all blacks were delighted at the news. But most white southerners were shocked and angry. . . . Many people vowed that they would never allow their children to attend integrated schools.

In some communities, violence broke out when school officials tried to carry out the Court's ruling. One of the most serious of these disturbances took place in Little Rock, Arkansas, in the fall of 1957. When nine black students tried to enroll in high school, they were threatened by angry mobs of whites. The governor ordered National Guard troops to keep the black students out of the school. Finally President Dwight Eisenhower sent United States Army troops to Little Rock to make sure that integration was carried out. . . .

*New weapons against discrimination.* Although some progress was being made toward ending school segregation, black persons in the United States still suffered from other kinds of discrimination. Many blacks decided that they would need to use stronger measures in order to gain all their civil rights.

In 1955 a group of blacks . . . started a boycott against the city bus company in Montgomery, Alabama. [A young minister named Martin Luther King, Jr., soon emerged as the leader of the boycott.] In Montgomery, just as in other southern cities, blacks had to ride in the back of the bus and give up their seats to white passengers when ordered to do so by the driver. For a year, nearly all the blacks in Montgomery walked to work or shared rides in cars instead of taking buses. The bus company suffered a huge loss of business. Then, in the fall of 1956, the Supreme Court declared that segregation in buses was unconstitutional. At last, blacks who rode buses in Montgomery and other southern cities were free to sit anywhere they pleased.

The success of the bus boycott convinced many blacks that direct action methods could help them achieve their civil rights goals. In the early 1960's, "sit-ins" [were held] in the South. Groups of black college and high school students—sometimes joined by sympathetic whites—would go to segregated lunch counters and restaurants. They would sit down and refuse to leave until they had been served. Often the demonstrators were insulted, shoved, or spat upon, and sometimes they were arrested. But the sit-ins continued until lunch counters in most southern cities had been integrated. Similar demonstrations were held to protest the segregation of playgrounds, beaches, libraries, and churches.

*Traveling down the freedom road.* During the early 1960's, other kinds of protest demonstrations helped focus worldwide attention on the problems of black Americans. Busloads of black and white civil rights workers made "freedom rides" through the South to protest segregation in bus terminals. Rallies and "freedom marches" were held in many communities throughout the country to demand stronger measures against racial discrimination. . . .

One of the most impressive demonstrations in support of civil rights took place in Washington, D.C., in August, 1963. More than 200,000 persons, both black and white, came to Washington from every part of the country for a ceremony in front of the Lincoln Memorial. Millions of other Americans viewed the "March on Washington" on television. Among the speakers was Martin Luther King, Jr., who made a strong plea for equality between races.

*Winning a victory over violence.* The freedom marches and other demonstrations aroused fierce anger among many white southerners. Civil rights workers, both black and white, were often threatened, beaten, or thrown into jail for taking part in demonstrations. When large protest marches were held in Birmingham, Alabama, in 1963, police used clubs, police dogs, and powerful streams of water from fire hoses to drive the demonstrators off the streets.

Some persons even lost their lives in the struggle for equal rights. During the 1960's, a number of civil rights workers were murdered in the South. In most cases, the murderers were never brought to justice. Among the victims of hatred was Martin Luther King, Jr., who was shot and killed by a sniper in Memphis, Tennessee, in 1968.

These acts of violence not only failed to halt the progress of the civil rights movement, but they may have even speeded up the drive for equality. Many white Americans in all parts of the country were horrified by the harsh treatment given to the demonstrators [and pressured the federal government to act].

*New laws to correct old injustices.* As public opinion became aroused, Congress passed several laws to ensure equal rights for black Americans. Among these laws was the Civil Rights Act of 1964. It banned discrimination in all kinds of public facilities, such as parks, swimming pools, hotels, and restaurants. It also forbade most employers and labor unions to discriminate against black workers. By requiring election officials to use the same standards for black as for white voters, the law helped protect black citizens' right to vote.

Other laws against discrimination soon followed. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 allowed federal officials to register black voters in areas where local election officials discriminated against them. It also specified other ways to safeguard the voting rights of black citizens. The Civil Rights Act of 1968 included a provision that forbade discrimination in the sale and rental of most houses and apartments. In the same year, the Supreme Court banned all discrimination in housing, basing its decision on a law passed in 1866.

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Excerpted from Jerry E. Jennings and Margaret Fisher Hertel, *Inquiring about Freedom—Civil Rights and Individual Responsibility* (Grand Rapids: The Fideler Co., 1979), pp. 44-51.

# From "Why We Can't Wait" by Martin Luther King, Jr.

The entrenched segregation laws and practices in Birmingham, Alabama, were the target of major demonstrations for civil rights. Although faced with mass jailings, clubs and cattle prods, police dogs and fire hoses, nonviolent demonstrators led by Martin Luther King, Jr., finally forced city authorities to negotiate a desegregation agreement in 1963. The following is King's description of subsequent events.

After talking all night Wednesday, and practically all day and night Thursday, we reached an accord. On Friday, May 10 [1963], this agreement was announced [in Birmingham, Alabama]. It contained the following pledges:

1. The desegregation of lunch counters, rest rooms, fitting rooms and drinking fountains, in planned stages during ninety days after signing.

2. The upgrading and hiring of Negroes on a nondiscriminatory basis throughout the industrial community of Birmingham, to include hiring of Negroes as clerks and salesmen within sixty days after signing of the agreement—and the immediate appointment of a committee of business, industrial and professional leaders to implement an area-wide program for the acceleration of upgrading and employment of Negroes in job categories previously denied to them.

3. Official cooperation with the movement's legal representatives in working out the release of all jailed persons on bond or on their personal recognizance.

4. Through the Senior Citizens Committee or Chamber of Commerce, communications between Negro and white to be publicly established within two weeks after signing, in order to prevent the necessity of further demonstrations and protests.

Our troubles were not over. The announcement that a peace pact had been signed in Birmingham was flashed across the world by the hundred-odd foreign correspondents then covering the campaign on the crowded scene. It was headlined in the nation's press and heralded on network television. Segregationist forces within the city were consumed with fury. They vowed reprisals against the white businessmen who had "betrayed" them by capitulating to the cause of Negro equality. On Saturday night, they gave their brutal answer to the pact. Following a Ku Klux Klan meeting on the outskirts of town, the home of my brother, the Reverend A.D. King, was bombed. That same night a bomb was planted near the Gaston Motel, a bomb so placed as to kill or seriously wound anyone who might have been in Room 30—my room. Evidently the would-be assassins did not know I was in Atlanta that night.

That bombing had been well timed. The bars in the Negro district close at midnight, and the bombs exploded just as some of Birmingham's Saturday night drinkers came out of the bars. Thousands of Negroes poured into the streets. Wyatt Walker, my brother and others urged them to go home, but they were not under the discipline of the movement and were in no mood to listen to counsels of peace. Fighting began. Stones were hurled at the police. Cars were wrecked and fires started. Whoever planted the bombs had *wanted* the Negroes to riot. They wanted the pact upset.

Governor George Wallace's state police and "conservation men" sealed off the Negro area and moved in with their bullies and pistols. They beat numerous innocent Negroes; among their acts of chivalry was the clubbing of the diminutive Anne Walker, Wyatt's wife, as she was about to enter her husband's quarters at the partially bombed-out Gaston Motel. They further distinguished themselves by beating Wyatt when he was attempting to drive back home after seeing his wife to the hospital.

I shall never forget the phone call my brother placed to me in Atlanta that violent Saturday night. His home had just been destroyed. Several people had been injured at the motel. I listened as he described the erupting tumult and catastrophe in the streets of the city. Then, in the background as he talked, I heard a swelling burst of beautiful song. Feet planted in the rubble of debris, threatened by criminal violence and hatred, followers of the movement were singing "We Shall Overcome." I marveled that in a moment of such tragedy the Negro could still express himself with hope and with faith.

The following evening, a thoroughly aroused President Kennedy told the nation that the federal government would not allow extremists to sabotage a fair and just pact. He ordered three thousand federal troops into position near Birmingham and made preparations to federalize the Alabama National Guard. This firm action stopped the troublemakers in their tracks.

Yet the segregationist die-hards were to attempt still once more to destroy the peace. On May 20 the headlines announced that more than a thousand students who had participated in the demonstrations had been either suspended or expelled by the city's Board of Education. I am convinced that this was another attempt to drive the Negro community to an unwise and impulsive move. The plot might have worked; there were some people in our ranks who sincerely felt that, in retaliation, all the students in Birmingham should stay out of school and that demonstrations should be resumed.

I was out of the city at the time, but I rushed back to Birmingham to persuade the leaders that we must not fall into the trap. We decided to take the issue into the courts and did so, through the auspices of the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund. On May 22, the local federal district judge upheld the Birmingham Board of Education. But that same day, Judge Elbert P. Tuttle, of the Fifth Circuit of Appeals, not only reversed the decision of the district judge but strongly condemned the Board of Education for its action. In a time when the nation is trying to solve the problem of school drop-outs, Judge Tuttle's ruling indicated, it is an act of irresponsibility to drive those youngsters from school in retaliation for having engaged in legally permissible action to achieve their constitutional rights. The night this ruling was handed down, we had a great mass meeting. It was a jubilant moment, another victory in the titanic struggle.

The following day, in an appropriate postscript, the Alabama Supreme Court ruled Eugene "Bull" Connor and his fellow commissioners out of office, once and for all.

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Pages 112-116 in *Why We Can't Wait* by Martin Luther King, Jr. Copyright © 1963, 1964 by Martin Luther King, Jr. Reprinted by permission of Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc.

Danny Lyon

Charles Moore, Black Star

Wide World

Walter Reuther, AFL-CIO

John Vachon

Don Uhrbrock

# The Struggle for Racial Equality

### OBJECTIVES

- Students will be able to define the concept of human equality in their own words.
- Students will be able to contrast the concept of equality with the reality of slavery and discrimination in the United States.
- Students will be able to identify significant stages of the struggle which has taken place over the years in the United States between the opposing concepts of racial equality and white supremacy.

### TIME REQUIRED

One homework assignment and one class period.

### MATERIALS NEEDED

- A copy for each student of excerpt from the July 4, 1852, address by Frederick Douglass to the citizens of Rochester, New York (p. 56).
- A copy for each student of excerpt from the June 11, 1963 address by President John F. Kennedy (p. 57).

### TEACHER PREPARATION

Teacher should be familiar with the assigned excerpts; if possible, research further background information concerning Frederick Douglass. Teacher also should review the previous lesson plans on Reconstruction and the Civil Rights Era, noting the Jim Crow laws. Supplementary reference notes on key dates, constitutional amendments, laws and court decisions may be useful. Books such as *The Negro Pilgrimage in America*, *Before the Mayflower* and others noted in the bibliography should be helpful.

### STUDENT PREPARATION

Prior to the class discussion, students will read the excerpt by Frederick Douglass. Drawing upon the biographical data that precedes the excerpt and upon any supplementary reading that has been done, the teacher should identify Frederick Douglass and point out that this speech was given prior to the Civil War, when slavery was legal in much of the United States. Students should also read the text by John Kennedy. *Tell* students that both texts use "man" and similar terms in the generic sense and that the material refers to both women and men.

### CLASSROOM PROCEDURE

1. *Write* on the chalkboard at the start of class the following quotation: "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood." *Tell* students that this statement is part of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1948.

2. *Initiate* a discussion of human equality using such questions as:

   a. What is meant by being "free and equal in dignity and rights"? How does this concept contrast with the concept of white supremacy?

   b. What groups have not been "free and equal" in the United States? (Blacks, Native Americans, Latinos, etc.)

*Point out* that there has been a struggle in this country between those advocating human equality and those supporting white supremacy for over 300 years, and that during the first 200 years of this struggle (until after the Civil War and

Margaret Bourke-White, LIFE Magazine, © 1937 Time Inc.

*The struggle for racial equality has been a constant and on-going theme in U.S. history. The photo above was taken in 1937, but discrimination still keeps many people of color from attaining the "American Dream."*

the adoption of the 13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution), the struggle was largely focused on the institution of slavery.

3. *Initiate* a discussion of the Douglass address. Questions for consideration include:

a. What are the principles of political freedom and justice embodied in the Declaration of Independence?

b. How did the principles apply to whites and to blacks when they were written? At the time of Douglass' speech? Now? How did they apply to women during the past? Now?

c. Why did Douglass state that the 4th of July celebration was a sham for the American slave?

d. In what ways might the following assertion of Douglass be applicable today: "The blessings in which you this day rejoice are not enjoyed in common. The rich inheritance of justice, liberty, prosperity, and independence bequeathed by your fathers is shared by you, not by me."

4. Referring to previous lesson plans concerning Reconstruction and the Civil Rights Era, *ask* students to identify successive phases that the struggle for racial equality in the United States has gone through since the abolition of slavery with the 13th Amendment in 1865. (*Use* chalkboard to make notes.) Phases to be identified:

a. 1865-1877—Reconstruction efforts to establish political equality.

b. 1880's to the 1960's—the institution of Jim Crow laws and enforced racial separation.

c. 1950's and 1960's—the overturning of segregation laws and enforced racial separation.

d. The present—the continuing struggle to overcome racial discrimination and eliminate racism.

5. *Ask* what role the Ku Klux Klan has played throughout this struggle.

6. *Initiate* a discussion of President John F. Kennedy's 1963 speech on fulfilling the nation's promise. Questions might include the following:

a. What did President Kennedy say the rights of every citizen should be? (To enjoy the privileges of being a U.S. citizen without regard to race or color, to be treated as one would wish to be treated.)

b. In what areas did President Kennedy say blacks face discrimination? (Education, employment, health care, salary.)

c. Compare the Kennedy and the Douglass speeches. What similar points are made in both speeches? Are the same problems still present today? Why or why not?

d. What did Kennedy mean when he said, "Now the time has come for this nation to fulfill its promise"? It is almost 20 years since Kennedy gave this speech; has the nation fulfilled its promise? Why or why not?

**OPTIONAL FOLLOW-UP ACTIVITY**

*Ask* students to research and prepare brief reports on some of the fighters for freedom and justice in the struggle for equality in the United States; individuals to be considered might include Cinque, Nat Turner, Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth, William Lloyd Garrison, Frederick Douglass, John Brown, Ida B. Wells, W. E. B. Du Bois, Rosa Parks, Martin Luther King, Jr., Fannie Lou Hamer and Malcolm X.

# "What to the Slave Is the Fourth of July?" by Frederick Douglass

Frederick Douglass was one of the greatest leaders in the struggle for equality in the United States. He was born a slave in Maryland around 1817. He spent his boyhood in Baltimore, where he taught himself to read and write despite his master's vigorous attempts to prevent it. He escaped to Massachusetts in 1838 and became one of the most outspoken and effective speakers and writers in the anti-slavery movement. After the Civil War he continued fighting for social and economic equality until his death in 1895. The following excerpt is from a speech he gave when invited to address the citizens of Rochester, New York, at a Fourth of July celebration in 1852.

*Frederick Douglass, an ex-slave who escaped to freedom, was active in the struggle to abolish slavery. His eloquence made him a popular speaker.*

Fellow Citizens: Pardon me, and allow me to ask why am I called upon to speak here today? What have I or those I represent to do with your national independence? Are the great principles of political freedom and of natural justice, embodied in that Declaration of Independence, extended to us? . . .

Would to God, both for your sakes and ours, that an affirmative answer could be truthfully returned. . . . But such is not . . . the case. . . . I am not included within the pale of this glorious anniversary! Your high independence only reveals the immeasurable distance between us. The blessings in which you this day rejoice are not enjoyed in common. The rich inheritance of justice, liberty, prosperity, and independence bequeathed by your fathers is shared by you, not by me. The sunlight that brought life and healing to you has brought stripes and death to me. This Fourth of July is *yours*, not *mine*. *You* may rejoice, *I* must mourn. . . .

My subject, then, fellow citizens, is "American Slavery." I shall see this day and its popular characteristics from the slave's point of view. Standing here, identified with the American bondman, making his wrongs mine, I do not hesitate to declare, with all my soul, that the character and conduct of this nation never looked blacker to me than on this Fourth of July. Whether we turn to the declarations of the past, or to the professions of the present, the conduct of the nation seems equally hideous and revolting. America is false to the past, false to the present, and solemnly binds herself to be false to the future. . . .

. . . Is it not astonishing that, while we are plowing, planting, and reaping, using all kinds of mechanical tools, erecting houses, constructing bridges, building ships, working in metals of brass, iron, copper, silver, and gold; that while we are reading, writing, and cyphering, acting as clerks, merchants, and secretaries, having among us lawyers, doctors, ministers, poets, authors, editors, orators, and teachers; that while we are engaged in all the enterprises common to other men—digging gold in California, capturing the whale in the Pacific, feeding sheep and cattle on the hillside, living, moving, acting, thinking, planning, living in families as husbands, wives, and children, and above all, confessing and worshipping the Christian God, and looking hopefully for life and immortality beyond the grave—we are called upon to prove that we are men? . . .

What to the American slave is your Fourth of July? I answer, a day that reveals to him more than all other days of the year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim. To him your celebration is a sham; your boasted liberty an unholy license; your national greatness, swelling vanity; your sounds of rejoicing are empty and heartless; your denunciation of tyrants, brass-fronted impudence; your shouts of liberty and equality, hollow mockery; your prayers and hymns, your sermons and thanksgivings, with all your religious parade and solemnity, are to him mere bombast, fraud, deception, impiety, and hypocrisy—a thin veil to cover up crimes which would disagrace a nation of savages. There is not a nation of the earth guilty of practices more shocking and bloody than are the people of these United States at this very hour.

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Excerpted from Frederick Douglass, *My Bondage and My Freedom* (Chicago: Johnson Publishing Company, 1970), pp. 349-353.

# "The Time Has Come for This Nation to Fulfill Its Promise" by President John F. Kennedy

John Fitzgerald Kennedy was president of the United States from January 20, 1961, until he was assassinated in Dallas, Texas, on November 22, 1963. The following is taken from an address he made to the nation on June 11, 1963.

This nation was founded by men of many nations and backgrounds. It was founded on the principle that all men are created equal and that the rights of every man are diminished when the rights of one man are threatened. . . .

It ought to be possible . . . for every American to enjoy the privileges of being American without regard to his race or his color. In short, every American ought to have the right to be treated as he would wish to be treated, as one would wish his children to be treated. But this is not the case.

The Negro baby born in America today, regardless of the section of the nation in which he is born, has about one-half as much chance of completing high school as a white baby born in the same place on the same day, one-third as much chance of completing college, one-third as much chance of becoming a professional man, twice as much chance of becoming unemployed, about one-seventh as much chance of earning $10,000 a year, a life expectancy which is seven years shorter, and the prospects of earning only half as much. . . .

The heart of the question is whether all Americans are to be afforded equal rights and equal opportunities. . . .

One hundred years of delay have passed since President Lincoln freed the slaves, yet their heirs, their grandsons, are not fully free. They are not yet freed from the bonds of injustice. They are not yet freed from social and economic oppression, and this nation, for all its hopes and all its boasts, will not be fully free until all its citizens are free.

We preach freedom around the world, and we mean it, and we cherish our freedom here at home; but are we to say to the world and, much more importantly, to each other that this is a land of the free except for the Negroes; that we have no second-class citizens except Negroes; that we have no class or caste system, no ghettos, no master race except with respect to Negroes?

Now the time has come for this nation to fulfill its promise.

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Excerpted from Jerry E. Jennings and Margaret Fisher Hertel, *Inquiring about Freedom—Civil Rights and Individual Responsibility* (Grand Rapids: The Fideler Co., 1979), p. 44.

# Thoughts of an Ex-Klansman

**OBJECTIVES**

- Students will be able to state some reasons why Klan membership is attractive to some people.
- Students will be able to identify some interests that are served by the Klan.
- Students will be able to state some concerns, problems, hopes and dreams shared by black people and white people and identify some ways in which racism keeps them from solving problems and realizing dreams.

**TIME REQUIRED**

One homework assignment and one class period.

**MATERIALS NEEDED**

- A copy for each student of excerpts from "Why I Quit the Klan," an interview with C. P. Ellis (pp. 59-60).

**TEACHER PREPARATION**

Teacher should be familiar with the C. P. Ellis interview.

**STUDENT PREPARATION**

Students will read the Ellis interview prior to class discussion.

**ASSIGNMENT PROCEDURE**

*Give* all students a copy of the Ellis interview and *ask* that they read it before the next class. *Tell* them Ellis was a member of the Klan, serving for a time as Exalted Cyclops (president) of the Durham, North Carolina, chapter.

**CLASSROOM PROCEDURE**

1. *Initiate* a class discussion of the article, giving students an opportunity to share general reactions and feelings. Some discussion questions to consider include:

a. What were some factors that led Ellis to join the Klan? (Economic insecurity, inability to "make it," bitterness, feelings of inferiority, looking for someone to blame/scapegoat.)

b. What did the Klan offer Ellis? (Comradeship, a sense of belonging, a sense of being someone important, easy targets to scapegoat and feel superior to.)

c. What does Ellis tell us about the background of many Klan members? (Low income; left out; poor education; bitter; jealous because blacks were beginning to demand rights that they as whites, who have been taught they are superior, do not have.)

d. Who are some of the people Ellis says support and encourage the Klan "behind the scenes"? (Doctors, lawyers, police officers, politicians, merchants, insurance agents.)

e. What did Ellis begin to feel about those people in the background? (That he and other Klansmen were being used by those people to divide low-income whites and blacks so they could keep control and maintain positions that give them access to power and wealth.)

f. What did Ellis think of blacks, Jews and Catholics? Where did he get those ideas? Why did he say that blacks were the "natural" people for him to hate? Who benefitted from such thinking? What caused him to change his views about them? How did his views change? Which way of thinking was of most benefit to him and why?

g. Compare similarities and differences between the feelings Ellis had about serving as co-chair of the school committee with the feelings that he had when joining the Klan. Which group offered more to him and why?

h. Some of Ellis's old white friends accused him of "selling out the white race." What did they mean? How do you think Ellis would have responded to them?

i. What issues does Ellis see that black and white working people face? What do you think he means when he mentions "black people and white people join hands to defeat the racist issues [union-busters] use against people"? Why do you think his father—a Klansman—and many other Klan members are working to keep white and black people from organizing into unions?

j. How would you summarize what changed for C. P. Ellis to lead him to so dramatically change his opinion of Martin Luther King, Jr.?

**OPTIONAL FOLLOW-UP ACTIVITY**

*Have* students read the abbreviated version of "Let America Be America Again" by Langston Hughes (p. 61). *Point out* to students that the poem was written many years ago and that the poet used the term "man" in the generic sense to mean all people, female and male. Possible questions for discussion include:

a. C. P. Ellis believes "there's a tremendous possibility in this country to stop wars, the battles, the struggles, the fights between people . . . I don't think it's an impossible dream."

Do you think he would share the dream about which Langston Hughes writes:

> O, let America be America again—
> The land that never has been yet—
> And yet must be—the land where every man is free.

b. What lessons did C. P. Ellis learn that support the poet's phrase, "I am the poor white, fooled and pushed apart"?

c. Which items in the poem represent the principles and creed that make up the dream of the United States?

d. What groups does the poet indicate have been denied realization of the dream?

e. The Ku Klux Klan cloaks itself in patriotism. In what ways might the poet's phrase "false patriotic wreath" apply to the Klan's brand of patriotism?

# "Why I Quit the Klan"— An Interview with C. P. Ellis

C. P. Ellis is fifty-three years old. He lives in Durham, North Carolina. At one time he was president (Exalted Cyclops) of the Durham chapter of the Ku Klux Klan.

All my life, I had work, never a day without work, worked all the overtime I could get and still could not survive financially. I began to see there's something wrong with this country. I worked my butt off and just never seemed to break even. I had some real great ideas about this nation. They say to abide by the law, go to church, do right and live for the Lord, and everything'll work out. But it didn't work out. It just kept gettin worse and worse. . . .

Tryin to come out of that hole, I just couldn't do it. I really began to get bitter. I didn't know who to blame. I tried to find somebody. Hatin America is hard to do because you can't see it to hate it. You gotta have somethin to look at to hate. The natural person for me to hate would be black people, because my father before me was a member of the Klan. . . .

So I began to admire the Klan. . . . To be part of somethin. . . . The first night I went with the fellas . . . I was led into a large meeting room, and this was the time of my life! It was thrilling. Here's a guy who's worked all his life and struggled all his life to be something, and here's the moment to be something. I will never forget it. Four robed Klansmen led me into the hall. The lights were dim and the only thing you could see was an illuminated cross. . . . After I had taken my oath, there was loud applause goin throughout the buildin, musta been at least four hundred people. For this one little ol person. It was a thrilling moment for C. P. Ellis. . . .

The majority of [the Klansmen] are low-income whites, people who really don't have a part in something. They have been shut out as well as blacks. Some are not very well educated either. Just like myself. We had a lot of support from doctors and lawyers and police officers.

Maybe they've had bitter experiences in this life and they had to hate somebody. So the natural person to hate would be the black person. He's beginnin to come up, he's beginnin to . . . start votin and run for political office. Here are white people who are supposed to be superior to them, and we're shut out. . . . Shut out. Deep down inside, we want to be part of this great society. Nobody listens, so we join these groups. . . .

We would go to the city council meetings, and the blacks would be there and we'd be there. It was a confrontation every time. . . . We began to make some inroads with the city councilmen and county commissioners. They began to call us friend. Call us at night on the telephone: "C. P., glad you came to that meeting last night." They didn't want integration either, but they did it secretively, in order to get elected. They couldn't stand up openly and say it, but they were glad somebody was sayin it. We visited some of the city leaders in their homes and talked to em privately. It wasn't long before councilmen would call me up: "The blacks are comin up tonight and makin outrageous demands. How about some of you people showin up and have a little balance?" . . .

We'd load up our cars and we'd fill up half the council chambers, and the blacks the other half. During these times, I carried weapons to the meetings, outside my belt. We'd go there armed. We would wind up just hollerin and fussin at each other. What happened? As a result of our fightin one another, the city council still had their way. They didn't want to give up control to the blacks nor the Klan. They were usin us.

I began to realize this later down the road. One day I was walkin downtown and a certain city council member saw me comin. I expected him to shake my hand because he was talkin to me at night on the telephone. I had been in his home and visited with him. He crossed the street [to avoid me]. . . . I began to think, somethin's wrong here. Most of em are merchants or maybe an attorney, an insurance agent, people like that. As long as they kept low-income whites and low-income blacks fightin, they're gonna maintain control. I began to get that feelin after I was ignored in public. I thought: . . . you're not gonna use me any more. That's when I began to do some real serious thinkin.

The same thing is happening in this country today. People are being used by those in control, those who have all the wealth. I'm not espousing communism. We got the greatest system of government in the world. But those who have it simply don't want those who don't have it to have any part of it. Black and white. When it comes to money, the green, the other colors make no difference.

I spent a lot of sleepless nights. I still didn't like blacks. I didn't want to associate with them. Blacks, Jews or Catholics. My father said: "Don't have anything to do with em." I didn't until I met a black person and talked with him, eyeball to eyeball, and met a Jewish person and talked to him, eyeball to eyeball. I found they're people just like me. They cried, they cussed, they prayed, they had desires. Just like myself. Thank God, I got to the point where I can look past labels. But at that time, my mind was closed.

I remember one Monday night Klan meeting. I said something was wrong. Our city fathers were using us. And I didn't like to be used. The reactions of the others was not too pleasant: "Let's just keep fightin them niggers."

I'd go home at night and I'd have to wrestle with myself. I'd look at a black person walkin down the street, and the guy'd have ragged shoes or his clothes would be worn. That began to do something to me inside. I went through this for about six months. I felt I just had to get out of the Klan. But I wouldn't get out. . . .

[Ellis was invited, as a Klansman, to join a committee of people from all walks of life to make recommendations on how to solve racial problems in the school system. He very reluctantly accepted. After a few stormy meetings, he was elected co-chair of the committee, along with Ann Atwater, a Black woman who for years had been leading local efforts for civil rights.]

A Klansman and a militant black woman, co-chairmen of the school committee. It was impossible. How could I work with her? But it was in our hands. We had to make it a success. This give me another sense of belongin, a sense of pride. This helped the inferiority feeling I had. A man who

*C.P. Ellis*

has stood up publicly and said he despised black people, all of a sudden he was willin to work with em. Here's a chance for a low-income white man to be somethin. In spite of all my hatred for blacks and Jews and liberals, I accepted the job. Her and I began to reluctantly work together. She had as many problems workin with me as I had workin with her.

One night, I called her: "Ann, you and I should have a lot of differences and we got em now. But there's somethin laid out here before us, and if it's gonna be a success, you and I are gonna have to make it one. Can we lay aside some of these feelins?" She said: "I'm willing if you are." I said: "Let's do it."

My old friends would call me at night: "C. P., what the hell is wrong witn you? You're sellin out the white race." This begin to make me have guilt feelins. Am I doin right? Am I doin wrong? Here I am all of a sudden makin an about-face and tryin to deal with my feelins, my heart. My mind was beginnin to open up. I was beginnin to see what was right and what was wrong. I don't want the kids to fight forever. . . .

One day, Ann and I went back to the school and we sat down. We began to talk and just reflect. . . . I begin to see, here we are, two people from the far ends of the fence, havin identical problems, except hers bein black and me bein white. . . . The amazing thing about it, her and I, up to that point, has cussed each other, bawled each other, we hated each other. Up to that point, we didn't know each other. We didn't know we had things in common. . . .

The whole world was openin up, and I was learning new truths that I had never learned before. I was beginning to look at a black person, shake hands with him, and see him as a human bein. I hadn't got rid of all this stuff. I've still got a little bit of it. But somethin was happenin to me. . . .

I come to work one mornin and some guys says: "We need a union." At this time I wasn't pro-union. My daddy was anti-labor too. We're not gettin paid much, we're havin to work seven days in a row. We're all starvin to death. . . . I didn't know nothin about organizin unions, but I knew how to organize people, stir people up. That's how I got to be business agent for the union.

When I began to organize, I began to see far deeper. I begin to see people again bein used. Blacks against whites. . . . There are two things management wants to keep: all the money and all the say-so. They don't want none of these poor workin folks to have none of that. I begin to see management fightin me with everythin they had. Hire anti-union law firms, badmouth unions. The people were makin $1.95 an hour, barely able to get through weekends. . . .

It makes you feel good to go into a plant and . . . see black people and white people join hands to defeat the racist issues [union-busters] use against people. . . .

I tell people there's a tremendous possibility in this country to stop wars, the battles, the struggles, the fights between people. People say: "That's an impossible dream. You sound like Martin Luther King." An ex-Klansmen who sounds like Martin Luther King. I don't think it's an impossible dream. It's happened in my life. It's happened in other people's lives in America. . . .

When the news came over the radio that Martin Luther King was assassinated, I got on the telephone and begin to call other Klansmen. . . . We just had a real party. . . . Really rejoicin cause the son of a bitch was dead. Our troubles are over with. They say the older you get, the harder it is for you to change. That's not necessarily true. Since I changed, I've set down and listened to tapes of Martin Luther King. I listen to it and tears come to my eyes cause I know what he's sayin now. I know what's happenin."

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# Let America Be America Again

## by Langston Hughes

(Abbreviated)

. . . Let America be the dream that dreamers dreamed—
Let it be that great strong land of love
Where never kings connive nor tyrants scheme
That any man be crushed by one above.

(It never was America to me.)

O, let my land be a land where Liberty
Is crowned with no false patriotic wreath,
But opportunity is real, and life is free,
Equality is in the air we breathe.

(There's never been equality for me,
Nor freedom in this "homeland of the free.")

*Say who are you that mumbles in the dark?*
*And who are you that draws your veil across the stars?*

I am the poor white, fooled and pushed apart,
I am the Negro bearing slavery's scars,
I am the red man driven from the land,
I am the immigrant clutching the hope I seek—
And finding only the same old stupid plan.
Of dog eat dog, of mighty crush the weak. . . .

O, let America be America again—
The land that never has been yet—
And yet must be—the land where every man is free.
The land that's mine—the poor man's, Indian's, Negro's,
ME—
Who made America.
Whose sweat and blood, whose faith and pain,
Whose hand at the foundry, whose plow in the rain,
Must bring back our mighty dream again. . . .

O, yes,
I say it plain,
America never was America to me,
And yet I swear this oath—
America will be!

. . . We, the people, must redeem
The land, the mines, the plants, the rivers,
The mountains and the endless plain—
All, all the stretch of these great green states—
And make America again!

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# Myth vs. Reality, Part I: Social Perceptions

### OBJECTIVES

- Students will be able to cite at least one example of long-term economic disparity between black people and white people in the U.S.
- Students will be able to state in their own words the meaning of "reality" and "myth."

### TIME REQUIRED

One class period.

### MATERIALS NEEDED

- Copies of Agree/Disagree Statements for each student (p. 63).
- Copies of Information Sheet (p. 64) to support Agree/Disagree Activity for each student.

### TEACHER PREPARATION

It would be helpful for the teacher to be familiar with the concept of affirmative action and be aware of arguments and data contradicting charges of "reverse discrimination" (see Readings, p. 65).

### CLASSROOM PROCEDURE

1. *Tell* students that this period will provide an opportunity for them to examine their understanding of certain realities in our society and for the class to look at how people can perceive the same reality differently.

2. *Write* the words "reality" and "myth" on the chalkboard. *Develop* definitions similar to the following with students:

> REALITY: the actual nature of something; the actual state of things; what actually exists; what is not imaginary, fictitious or pretended.
>
> MYTH: a belief without factual basis given uncritical acceptance by members of a group, especially in support of existing or traditional practices or institutions; an invented story or concept used to justify a social practice, institution or belief.

3. *Write* the word "statistics" on the chalkboard. *Ask* students what the term means. *Develop* a definition similar to the following:

> STATISTICS: The collection, analysis, interpretation and presentation of masses of numerical data. While statistics don't tell us about individual members of a group, they can tell us about the chances of individuals within a group to experience certain realities compared to the chances of individuals in other groups. If there are significant differences between groups, we can then attempt to find the causes of those differences.

*Write* the following figures on the chalkboard as examples of statistics (leave them there through the period).

> Based on the 1980 census (counting) of the people living in the U.S., the racial breakdown of the population is approximately 83.2% white, 11.7% black, 1.5% Asian American, 0.6% Native American and 3% other.

*Explain* that these figures are statistics of the racial breakdown of the population.

4. *Give* each student a copy of the Agree/Disagree Statements. *Tell* them they are *not* taking a quiz for a grade. They should *not* put their name on the paper. *Ask* them to read each question and circle the "A" if they agree and the "D" if they disagree.

5. *Arrange* the students into small discussion groups of five-seven students per group. *Explain* that they are to discuss each of the items on the sheet. Students should share the reasoning that led them to agree or disagree with the statement. *Ask* one member of each group to record the total number of agrees/disagrees for each item.

6. *Have* group recorders write the number of agrees/disagrees on the chalkboard, using a chart such as the following:

GROUP

| ITEM | A | B | C | D | E | F | Class Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | A / D | | | | | | A / D |
| 2 | | | | | | | |
| 3 | | | | | | | |
| 4 | | | | | | | |
| 5 | | | | | | | |

7. *Ask* the class to examine the results. Possible discussion questions include:

a. In deciding whether you agreed or disagreed with particular items, did you feel you had sufficient knowledge? Were your responses based on facts (verifiable by evidence) or impressions?

b. Which question is most open to impression and least verifiable by statistics?

c. What were areas of disagreement in the groups? Did people feel strongly about the correctness of their responses?

d. Did people use facts or impressions to support their responses?

e. What are some factors you think may have contributed to differing perceptions of the same social reality?

8. *Distribute* the Information Sheet and *ask* students (still in discussion groups) to examine them for information to support their responses.

9. If time permits, *give* students an opportunity to raise questions about the information with the whole class. If not, *tell* students that the discussion will continue next period. *Ask* them to bring the two papers to the next class.

# Agree/Disagree Statements

**AGREE** **DISAGREE**

**A** **D** **1. Ten years ago, black students were proportionately greatly *under*represented in law and medical schools. Since then, these schools have given special preference to blacks and now there is a higher proportion of black students in medical and law schools than in the overall population.**

**A** **D** **2. In 1969, median family income for blacks was only 61% of median income for whites. By the end of the 1970's, the income gap between white and black families had grown even wider.**

**A** **D** **3. In the 1960's, unemployment rates among blacks were twice as high as those of whites. During the 1970's, as unemployment rose among whites, black unemployment rates fell to about the same level as white unemployment.**

**A** **D** **4. In 1979, of people 16 through 24 years of age, blacks with college degrees had a higher unemployment rate than did white high school dropouts.**

**A** **D** **5. Unemployed people just don't want to work. There are lots of jobs available but most unemployed people would rather take a handout than get out there and find a job.**

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# Information Sheet

1.

WASHINGTON, April 6 — While the number of women enrolled in accredited law schools has nearly doubled in six years, the number of blacks in law school has increased only slightly and has actually decreased a bit as a proportion of all students, according to statistics released by the American Bar Association.

Black students now constitute 4.4 percent of the total enrollment of 128,397 in law schools, down from a high of 4.7 percent of enrollment four years ago. There were 5,303 black law students four years ago and 5,549 in the current school year.

The bar association figures for enrollment by race go back only to 1968, when the proportion of black students was 3.1 percent. By 1973, the percentage had increased to 4.3, and it has essentially remained there, although there is a widespread perception that professional schools have gone out of their way to increase minority enrollments.

*The New York Times*, April 7, 1981

A breakdown of the nation's 62,242 med students shows: 86.4 percent are white, 5.7 are black, 3.6 Hispanic, 2.6 Asian-American, 0.3 Native American, and 1.4 are foreign students.

*Civil Rights Update*, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, January, 1980

2.

WASHINGTON, June 18 — The Bureau of the Census today issued a statistical portrait of the uneven progress of blacks in America since 1790. . . .

For other blacks, the economic outlook remains less than bright. The report shows that, while the overall median income for black families grew faster than that for whites between 1947 and 1974, it has since remained unchanged . . . — discounting for inflation — while white income has risen by 2 percent. As a result, black median income nationally declined from 60 percent of that of whites in 1974 to 57 percent in 1977.... The remaining gap between white and black families is illustrated by the fact that, in 1977, only 30 percent of black families had incomes of more than $15,000, as opposed to 57 percent for whites.

*The New York Times*, June 19, 1980

3.

Fears about the economy, especially rising unemployment, appear to be hardening divisive attitudes among population groups in the nation, according to the latest New York Times/CBS News Poll.

The white attitudes toward black Americans measured in this Times/CBS News Poll offered other, though less insistent, evidence of recession's threat to social comity. It showed that 14 percent of whites believed that black unemployment was lower than that of whites, and 20 percent believed that it was about the same, whereas in May the actual rate of unemployment for whites was 6.9 percent and the rate for blacks was 13.9 percent.

Whites who said that they were very worried about losing a job were much more likely than those who called themselves unworried to place black unemployment at the same rate or lower than that of whites. Forty-nine percent of the very worried group held that opinion about black unemployment, while 34 percent of the unworried group expressed that view.

*The New York Times*, July 2, 1980

4.

. . . When the economy is in a recession, as it is now, joblessness among black youths rises faster than it does for other groups. And when good times return, it falls more slowly.

In 1960, about 24% of blacks between the ages of 16 and 19 were unemployed, compared with 13% of whites in the same age group; in August 1980, the rates stood at 37.4% and 17%, respectively. Among blacks aged 20 to 24, the 1960 rate was about 9%, against just over 4% for whites; in August the comparable figures were 22% and 10%.

**The Comparisons Worsen**

The most discouraging aspect of those statistics is that they *worsen* comparatively for young blacks as educational attainment rises. A U.S. Labor Department survey of persons aged 16 through 24 taken last October showed that among high-school dropouts, the jobless rate for blacks was 31.6%, compared with 16.4% for whites. For high-school graduates, the figures were 21.3% and 8.5%. Among college graduates, fully 17.1% of blacks were unemployed, against 4% of whites. Looked at another way, young blacks with college degrees were jobless at a higher rate than young whites who hadn't completed high school.

*The Wall Street Journal*, Sept. 8, 1980

5.

BALTIMORE, Sept. 20 — At least 26,200 persons have picked up application forms for the 75 entry-level positions offered this week with the Social Security Administration here, officials said today.

The total is more than double the first-day turnout of 12,000 persons who lined up Monday at three separate Federal office buildings, some waiting up to three hours, to get the applications. The salaries will range from $7,210 for clerical work to $11,565 for warehouse duties.

Jim M. Brown, a spokesman for the agency, said officials had been overwhelmed by the turnout of applicants, most of whom were black. "What this proves is what black leaders have been saying for years — people would rather have jobs than be on welfare," he said.

For each vacancy only three persons will be interviewed, a total of 225, and veterans will receive preference, following standard Federal hiring policies. In addition, although the jobs do not require special skills or testing, those who do have experience will be given preference. Those not hired but who qualify for jobs will be put on a waiting list.

People interviewed in the long lines on Monday morning indicated most had heard about the jobs by word of mouth.

Unemployment for Baltimore in July, the latest month for figures are available, was 9.9 percent, as against the national rate of 7.8 percent for July and 7.6 percent for August.

The most recent data on Baltimore's nonwhite unemployment rate, from the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics included only figures for 1979, which showed a level of 17.9 percent. For 16- to 19-year-olds, the figure rose to 51.5 percent.

*The New York Times*, Sept. 21, 1980

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# Readings

Editorial, *The New York Times*, Nov. 27, 1977

As the lists of our company officers testify each day on this page, we are an institution run mostly by white men. As in most other institutions, women and nonwhites came later than white men into the hierarchies from which our managers have been chosen. Recognizing the inadequacy of the result, and faced with social and legal pressures that we ourselves helped to generate, we have undertaken corrective measures, affirmative action, to expand opportunity in our company, in our profession and in our country. Sex and race are factors in our appraisal of qualified applicants.

Clearly, that effort is far from complete. Its success will show up only in future generations. But the effort itself has come increasingly under attack, as discrimination against white men, a pious tribute to conscience by one generation at the expense of deserving members of the next. White men complain, in our offices and on our front page, that any program of hiring or promotion or admission to schools that takes notice of race or sex is not only broadly unfair, or unconstitutional, but also specifically discriminatory against them—that it is "reverse discrimination." Steelworkers in Louisiana, firemen in Pittsburgh, teachers in Detroit and officials in Washington all raise variations of this protest against affirmative action and some are seeking redress in court.

We sensed the accumulating strength of this backlash while studying the Bakke case last summer. And if Mr. Bakke persuades the Supreme Court that race-conscious affirmative action at the Davis medical school of the University of California was illegal discrimination against him, then all forms of affirmative action would become instantly suspect and the subject of prolonged litigation. They would be abandoned in many places, quickly and tragically.

One complaint of white men is that any recognition of race or sex in the distribution of opportunity is illegal. But American law itself has been an instrument of discrimination and deprivation. The courts, as well as society, have acknowledged the wrong, identified the victims and called for relief and remedy. And where the law served discrimination by race or sex, it logically must permit relief and remedy that recognize and compensate for race and sex.

There are two ways to escape this logic. One is to deny the problem: People are inherently unequal, endowed by their Creator with inherent personal talents and deficiencies and inherited social advantages and deprivations. All must play out the hand they've been dealt, no matter how cruel the handicap. The second and currently more fashionable response is to acknowledge the problem but to deny a remedy: Yes, not only the Creator and our forefathers but also our laws and institutions perpetrated dreadful wrong; it will never be permitted again. However, the innocent individual beneficiaries of those wrongs, who are far ahead in the race for opportunity, cannot now be penalized; henceforth, the race will be fair even though everyone's position in it is not.

Neither response is good enough. The law cannot suddenly decide to be neutral when for so long it favored white men. Neither can society. Not only some abstract concept of justice but the well-being of the American community depends upon affirmative action that can help to overcome the stigma and injury of the past. A multiplicity of programs in both private and public institutions is preferable here to the mandates of law or bureaucracies. But the effort itself is necessary.

To the complaint of white men that this complicates their lives as a group, there is only one honest reply: Sure it does. But if they are being deprived to some extent, it is only in the sense that they are losing opportunity which they would not have had without past discrimination. As for the charge that one generation is burdening the next, the answer again is: Of course. Everything done in one time burdens—and benefits—another time.

From "Ending Whites' Monopoly," Op-Ed page, *The New York Times*, Oct. 16, 1980

Given the horror that greets talk of quotas, one would not suspect that the United States has been operating under a rigid quota system for 200 years. This quota system has insisted on and gotten a 90 to 100 percent monopoly for white males in all the principal centers of power in government, business, the professions, and in the competition for desirable jobs at every level in church and state. From board rooms to pulpit, from the controllers of wealth to the writers of history, power has remained white and masculine.

Now with blacks and women at the gates, the arguments against quotas, like bombs bursting in air, are all about us. Affirmative action is characterized as "reverse discrimination." In fact, it is a reversal of existing discrimination so as to end the long tenured white male monopolies. The program will not do in reverse to white males what was done to blacks, for example. It will not put whites into a position where blacks are now, with a maternal death rate triple that of whites, an infant death rate twice that of whites, teenage unemployment triple that of whites. It will not make white children perceive almost by age 8 that the overwhelming dominant society believes them to be inferior, thus raping their self-confidence and shrinking their inner map of expectations. No such "reverse discrimination" will issue from affirmative action.

There are others who fret lest preferential treatment lead to permanent and irrecoverable decline in self-respect among blacks and women, and to a lost sense of self-worth. Fear not, preferred groups, there is good news. An examination of the case histories of us white males, who were so long awash in preference, reveals that we have survived with our sense of self-worth obulliently intact! There is room to hope that you will bear your temporary preference with at least equal aplomb.

*Daniel C. Maguire is professor of ethics at Marquette University, president-elect of The Society of Christian Ethics, and author of "A New American Justice: Ending the White Male Monopolies."*

Letters, *The New York Times*, April 23, 1978

To the Editor:

The Bakke case has spawned a new term in our lexicon, "reverse discrimination." It is catchy and has the air of good balance and the ring of fairness. Yet what does it mean to convey?

Does it imply that we have gone beyond a middle point of "zero-discrimination" against minorities and the pendulum has swung to a point where those who were discriminated against are now practicing the same discrimination in reverse? If this is so, we must have passed a state of affairs in which prejudices and discrimination were eliminated and grievances redressed with equal opportunity. It would appear as though an ungrateful former oppressed group in our society seeks to force upon the nation a new set of discriminatory practices aping their former oppressors and thus becoming oppressors themselves.

What is being reversed? Are the whites to be herded into ghettos, removed from their professions, deprived of decent housing, forced into malnutrition and early death? Is this to be perpetrated by the blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos and aboriginal Indians against the majority of the population?

Or does this mean that a black caucus has taken over political power and our prisons will be 80 percent filled with white inmates instead of black and Spanish-speaking?

Have we reversed the unemployment rate for blacks so that there are three times as many whites out of work on a per capita basis? Has the poor health of the people of Harlem been visited on Sutton Place, Flatbush or Riverdale? Have whites lost 40 percent of their income, suffered a five-to-ten-year loss of longevity or a sharp drop in literacy? Is the country now to be served by predominantly black physicians who constitute only 2 percent of the physicians in the nation, or by 2 percent of the dentists, or 1.5 percent of the attorneys, 1.3 percent of the state police and less than 2 percent of college graduates?

It is difficult to see what has been reversed when the figures for other victims of racism and sexism are almost as bad.

What does seem new is an inordinate fear of competition for jobs among the dominant white population. It has become accustomed to an unfair competitive advantage. This fear is deepened as signs of economic stagnation again cloud the horizon and the dollar seems unable to cope with serious reversals. The shibboleth "reverse discrimination" is intended to keep the number of contenders down by enforcing disqualification under the old norms.

We are eminently fair in our sporting events when we establish handicaps for players of special skill or advantage. We think nothing of handicapping a golfer or a jockey to equalize the competition. And while the idea of reverse discrimination appears to base itself on the same spirit of fair play, it operates on the assumption that inequalities have in fact been eliminated. This is a far cry from reality.

If affirmative action were understood in terms of handicaps instead of reverse discrimination we could proceed to educate all of our population in quality, decently house it, care for its health and get on with the business of expanding our economic base and services, which is the only way to provide jobs for all — free from discrimination.

SIDNEY J. GLUCK

New York, April 17, 1978

*The writer is a member of the political science staff of the New School for Social Research.*

# Myth vs. Reality, Part II: The Process of Scapegoating

**OBJECTIVES**

- Students will be able to state in their own words the meaning of the term "scapegoat."
- Students will be able to cite an example of the Klan's scapegoating and present information to counter the Klan's assertion.

**TIME REQUIRED**

One class period.

**MATERIALS NEEDED**

- Students should have their copies of the Agree/Disagree Statements and the accompanying Information Sheet from the previous lesson.
- Copy for each student of Additional Facts on Black/White Disparities (p. 67).

**TEACHER PREPARATION**

Teacher should write on chalkboard the chart of results from the previous class discussion.

**CLASSROOM PROCEDURE**

1. *Review* previous discussion and results from Agree/Disagree Activity. *Provide* an opportunity for students to discuss thoughts/ideas/concerns since the previous lesson.

2. *Write* the word *scapegoat* on the board. *Ask* students what they think it means. *Develop* definition with the class:

SCAPEGOAT: *v.t.*, to displace aggression or project guilt upon; to cast blame on others; to attribute one's own failure to the malign activities of others.

SCAPEGOAT: *n.*, a person or thing unjustly bearing the blame for others. A person, group, race or institution against whom is directed the irrational hostility and unrelieved aggression of others.

3. *Refer* students to the earlier reading and discussion of C.P. Ellis's interview. *Remind* them that Ellis worked very hard to get ahead but never seemed to be able to break even. He began to get bitter and looked for someone to blame.

a. Whom did Ellis find to blame?

b. How did it serve him to blame them? (Ellis could easily have been consumed by guilt and low self-esteem because he couldn't make it in a society that says anyone who works hard enough will make it. Scapegoating blacks let him feel it was their fault, thus taking the blame off himself.)

c. Whom does Ellis suggest is really served by scapegoating? (Those in positions of power and wealth who benefit by encouraging whites to blame blacks for their problems instead of working together with blacks to demand changes that would benefit both groups.)

4. *Ask* students to re-read clipping #3 (p. 64). *Note* how many whites believed black unemployment was the same or lower than white unemployment, when in fact black unemployment rates have remained at least twice as high as white rates for decades.

a. How did the class's response to Item #3 (refer to chart) compare with the results of the opinion poll mentioned in clipping #3?

b. What does the clipping tell us about which whites were more likely to be mistaken about black unemployment rates?

c. How might people worried about losing their jobs feel? Might whites in that position be more likely to scapegoat blacks? Why?

5. *Tell* students that the Klan tells white workers that when white unemployment goes up, it's because blacks are taking jobs away from whites.

a. From available evidence, does this assertion seem to be more reality or myth? (Refer back to definitions.)

b. How might whites who think black unemployment is lower or the same as white unemployment respond to the Klan's message?

c. How might whites who know about the history of employment trends and contemporary statistics concerning black/white unemployment respond?

d. Which group is more susceptible to Klan propaganda and why?

6. *Tell* students that the Klan says that minorities are being given preference over whites for college attendance and jobs. *Mention* that lots of whites complain about someone they know being passed over in favor of a black person. They say that "all you have to do to get into college or get a good job is be black" (refer to Item #1 on student response chart if appropriate).

a. What evidence do students have that would tend to contradict this? (Refer to Information Sheet.)

b. How might a person who is turned down for college or a job feel? Why might that person look for a scapegoat? How might that scapegoating be expressed?

c. What might others' impression of the situation be if they hear the person's complaint?

7. *Remind* students that the definition of myth included "uncritical acceptance" of a belief which supports "existing or traditional practices or institutions."

a. What traditional practices or institutions does the Klan support? (Those that contribute to white supremacy.)

b. What do you think the Klan means when it says it defends "white rights"?

c. Does available evidence support Klan assertions about preferential treatment for blacks? Do these assertions seem to reflect more myth or reality?

8. *Distribute* copies of Additional Facts on Black/White Disparities. *Ask* students (particularly those who seem sympathetic to assertions concerning preferential treatment for blacks) to research further evidence to verify or contradict any of the above. Evidence should be factual (not impressionistic) and verifiable, and be presented with citation of sources.

# Additional Facts on Black/White Disparities

- In 1969, 29% of the nation's poor population was black. In 1978, blacks were 27.5% of the poor population. (*State of Black America*, National Urban League, 1980; p. 9)
- In 1977, 11.4% of whites under 17 years of age lived in poverty, while 41.6% of blacks under 17 lived in poverty. ("Characteristics of the Population below the Poverty Level: 1977," U.S. Department of Commerce, 1979)
- Of total welfare payments made in 1974, blacks received 36%. About 77% of all black families received *no* public assistance. (*State of Black America*, National Urban League, 1980; p. 21)
- In 1950 there were 29.9 deaths per thousand among white youngsters under one year old and 53.7 deaths per thousand among black youngsters under one year old. By 1978, infant mortality among white youngsters had fallen 59.9% to 12 per thousand, while that of black youngsters had fallen 54.4% to 24.5 per thousand. (*Monthly Vital Statistics Report*, Vol. 27, No. 13, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, National Center for Health Statistics, 1979)
- In 1977, blacks represented 4.2% of all U.S. families with income of $25,000 or more. (*State of Black America*, National Urban League, 1980; p. 19)
- In 1970, 47% of white families were middle-class, while 24% of black families were middle class. In 1979, 50% of white families were middle-class compared to 24% of black families. (*State of Black America*, National Urban League, 1981; p. 34)
- In 1977, the minority share of federal procurement contracts amounted to 1.5%. (*Black Enterprise*, May 1978)
- In 1969, black business firms received 0.22% of total business receipts in the U.S. By 1977, receipts of black business firms declined to 0.19% of total U.S. business receipts. (*Black Enterprise*, December 1980)
- In 1976, blacks represented 6% of graduate school students and 4.5% of professional school students. (*State of Black America*, National Urban League, 1980; p. 74)
- In 1968-69, blacks were 2.2% of college faculty. In 1977 they were 4.4%. (*State of Black America*, National Urban League, 1981; p. 204)

# Countering the Klan

## OBJECTIVES

- Students will review what they have learned about Klan beliefs, tactics, targets and goals.
- Students will be able to compare and contrast the Klan's vision of the United States with that of Martin Luther King, Jr., and some of the country's basic principles and creed.
- Students will be able to give reasons why people should act against the Klan and be able to identify some appropriate and feasible activities they might undertake.

## TIME REQUIRED

One class period.

## MATERIALS NEEDED

- A copy of the excerpt from Martin Luther King, Jr.'s "I Have a Dream" speech for each student (p. 69).
- A copy of the quote from Martin D. Niemöller for each student (p. 69).

## TEACHER PREPARATION

Review Background Information for references to activities which have contributed to combatting the Klan during various historical periods and to section J, Countering the Klan. Be familiar with Dr. King's speech and the Niemöller quote.

## CLASSROOM PROCEDURE

1. *Review* with students what they've learned about the Klan so far. Major points which should be included:
   a. The Klan is an openly racist, white supremacist organization which claims that whites are superior to all other peoples.
   b. The Klan seeks to maintain white control of power and authority and to protect the special privileges, benefits and advantages whites gain because of racism.
   c. The Klan opposes blacks and whites intermarrying, being friends, going to school together, having social or equal contact.
   d. The Klan is against blacks, Jews, people who want to organize whites and blacks into unions, people who believe in communism instead of capitalism, lesbians and gay men, feminists who work for equal rights for women, refugees and immigrants from Asia and Latin America, and whites who socialize with blacks or work for equal rights for all.
   e. The Klan uses violence, intimidation and terror against those people it opposes.
2. *Write* the following quote on the chalkboard: "Racial separation, preferably through black repatriation to Africa, is the final and only desirable solution to America's racial problem." *Tell* students that this quote comes from *The Klansman*, the newspaper of the Invisible Empire of the Ku Klux Klan.
3. *Distribute* copies of Martin Luther King's "I Have A Dream" speech. *Ask* students to read the speech. (If possible play a recording of the actual speech.)
4. *Ask* students to discuss the two visions of the United States—the Klan's and Dr. King's. Some suggested questions include:
   a. What are elements of Dr. King's dream? (That the U.S. "live out" the true meaning of "all men are created equal"; that people of all races and religions be able to live in brotherhood; that people not be judged by the color of their skin; that freedom, justice and liberty prevail for *all* people.)
   b. What is the Klan's vision? (That white people are better than all others, that black people should be sent to Africa, that Jews are inferior to Christians.)
   c. Which of these visions more accurately reflects the "American dream" and the principles of the "American creed"? Which of these visions would bring closer a "sweet land of liberty" and "let freedom ring"?
5. *Tell* students that Martin Niemöller was a German pastor who actively opposed the Nazis. In the late 1930's the Gestapo put him in a concentration camp. In 1945 Allied troops liberated Dachau and Niemöller was freed. *Ask* students to read Niemöller's quote and discuss its implications for them in terms of the Klan. What groups could be included in such a quote today?
6. *Ask* students to consider ways in which the Klan can be opposed and liberty, justice and equality promoted. *Ask* students to present their ideas, listing them on the board. Included might be:
   a. Contact organizations working to oppose the Klan for information on efforts to counter the Klan (see Sources of Information on Klan Activities, p. 72).
   b. Organize a committee of students to develop programs and activities which will inform students about the Klan and raise awareness of racism.
   c. Organize an interracial committee of students to work at increasing communication and cooperation in schools experiencing interracial conflict and tension.
   d. Write letters to local newspapers for publication in their letters column, stating opposition to Klan activities and calling on people to speak out and act. Write to editors asking for articles to be published exposing the Klan (locally or nationally) and educating people about racism.
   e. Write to state and national legislators asking for investigations and hearings into Klan activities.
   f. Visit religious leaders to ask for anti-Klan sermons and educational campaigns against Klan bigotry and violence
   g. In areas of Klan violence, suggest that a community meeting of concerned citizens be called to discuss steps that can be taken.
   h. Speak up whenever discriminatory behavior is observed or racist remarks, jokes and comments are heard.
7. *Provide* opportunities for students to report and discuss in class any experiences they encounter with their activities related to this curriculum.

# "I Have a Dream" by Martin Luther King, Jr.

On August 28, 1963, more than 250,000 people participated in a March on Washington for civil rights. Martin Luther King, Jr., a prominent civil rights leader, addressed the marchers from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial. The following is an excerpt from his speech.

I say to you today, my friends, even though we face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream. I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: "We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal."

I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave-owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.

I have a dream that one day even the State of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice. I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character. I have a dream today.

I have a dream that one day down in Alabama with its vicious racists, with its Governor having his lips dripping with the words of interposition and nullification—one day right there in Alabama, little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls as sisters and brothers.

I have a dream today. . . . This is our hope . . . to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood . . . to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day.

This will be the day when all of God's children will be able to sing with new meaning:

"My country 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty,
Of thee I sing:
Land where my fathers died,
Land of the pilgrims' pride,
From every mountain-side
Let Freedom ring."

And if America is to be a great nation, this must become true. . . . From every mountainside, let freedom ring. And when we allow freedom to ring, when we let it ring from every village, from every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual: "Free at last! free at last! thank God almighty, we are free at last!"

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Excerpted from *Pictorial History of the Black American* (YEAR, 1968), p. 148.

# Statement by Martin D. Niemöller

In Germany, they came first for the communists, and I didn't speak up because I was not a communist. Then, they came for the Jews and I didn't speak up because I was not a Jew. Then, they came for the trade unionists, and I didn't speak up because I was not a trade unionist. Then, they came for the Catholics, and I didn't speak up because I was a Protestant. Then, they came for me and by that time, no one was left to speak up.

# Glossary

NOTE: The definitions below are designed to help teachers discuss the material in this curriculum. Definitions that are not relevant to this kit are not included. For example, the definition of "abolition" given below omits such general definitions as "annulment," "abrogation," etc. and focuses on the specific meaning applicable to this material.

**abolition:** the legal termination of slavery in the U.S.

**abolitionist:** person who advocated terminating slavery.

**Anglo-Saxon:** a white gentile of English ancestry.

**anti-Semitism:** negative attitudes about or hostile behaviors toward Jewish people.

**Asian-American:** person or descendant of people who emigrated from Asia to the U.S.

**backlash:** a reaction, especially in the form of resistance, against a social movement.

**bigotry:** irrational hostility toward people of different races, religions, beliefs, etc.

**Black Codes:** laws passed by Southern states at the end of the Civil War depriving newly freed blacks of basic economic and political rights.

**Black Rule:** the term used by those who opposed the political changes brought about by Reconstruction to suggest that blacks controlled state governments.

**boycott:** *n.* the act or practice of refusing to deal or associate with, so as to coerce; *v.* to refuse to use or buy.

**Chicano:** a person of Mexican descent living in the U.S.; its use reflects a political statement connoting pride of identity in the Indian-African-Spanish heritage of the people and their historic Mexican roots in what is now the U.S. Southwest.

**civil rights:** constitutional rights to political equality, *i.e.*, the right to vote, to hold public office, to testify in court and serve on juries, etc.

**coalition:** an alliance between persons or groups for some specific cause or action.

**Confederate States:** the 11 Southern states that in 1860-61 seceded from the Union, precipitating the Civil War.

**cross burning:** an act performed by the KKK which involves covering a wooden cross with flammable material and setting it on fire. Cross burnings occur at Klan rallies and as a terrorist tactic against individuals.

**democracy:** involvement of people in making decisions that affect their lives. What form that takes is determined by the political, economic and social structure of a particular society.

**desegregate:** to end the practice of separating people on the basis of race.

**discrimination:** differential treatment of persons based upon their race, national origin, religion, sex or sexual preference, etc.

**extremist:** a person or group that takes the most extreme, severe or uncompromising position.

**fascist:** a person who supports the establishment of a totalitarian regime engaging in severely nationalistic policies, rigid censorship and forcible suppression of other people's rights.

**gay:** people whose sexual and affectional orientation is to people of the same sex; usually refers to men (see "lesbian").

**Grand Wizard:** one title for the highest officer of a Klan faction.

**ideology:** a theory or body of beliefs about human life and culture.

**indoctrinate:** to instruct in a doctrine, belief or ideology.

**institutional racism:** policies and practices of basic institutions (*e.g.*, business, health care, education, government) which result in benefits to people of one race at the expense of those of other races.

**integrated:** made up of individuals or groups of various cultural, economic, racial, etc. backgrounds functioning as a unit: for example, an integrated school.

**Jim Crow:** laws and practices established from the 1870's to the early 1900's in Southern states segregating the races and discriminating against blacks. In effect until the 1960's civil rights struggles. Term derives from old minstrel song.

**lesbian:** women whose sexual and affectional orientation is to other women (see "gay").

**literacy tests:** tests to determine people's ability to read and write in order to qualify to vote; historically used in Southern states to exclude blacks from voting.

**lynch:** to hang or otherwise kill a person by mob action without legal authority (usually carried out against blacks by whites).

**martial law:** rule by the military or police.

**minorities:** groups differing from the majority of the population, especially in race, culture, religion, sexual preference, politics.

**Native American:** people whose ancestors lived on the American continent and in the Caribbean islands before the conquest of the Americas by Europeans; misnamed "Indians" by Columbus.

**Nazi:** the German political party headed by Adolf Hitler that advocated fascist views, Aryan superiority and black/Jewish inferiority; a person who holds views similar to those of the German Nazis.

**night rider:** in Southern states, any of a band of masked, mounted men who perform lawless acts of violence at night, generally to punish, intimidate, etc.

**plantation:** a large agricultural estate in the South where, before the Civil War, cotton, tobacco and other crops were grown with slave labor.

**poll tax:** a tax charged for voting, used primarily to prevent poor blacks from voting.

**prejudice:** attitudes or opinions—especially of a hostile nature—based on prejudgment and insufficient information about a group of people.

**race:** a category of the human species sharing more or less distinctive physical traits transmitted in descent; a concept that has little scientific validity but continues to have meaning in particular social contexts.

**racism:** any attitude, action or institutional practice which subordinates people because of their color.

**radical:** a person or group advocating fundamental social change.

**Reconstruction:** the post-Civil War period (1865-77) when the Southern states were required to provide democratic rights to blacks and poor whites in order to gain readmission to the Union.

**Red Scare:** a period after the first World War when fear and persecution of suspected Communists were used to condone political repression and to stifle dissent in the U.S.

**scapegoating:** unjustly placing blame on a person or group.

**segregation:** separation of races by discriminatory laws and practices.

**sharecroppers:** agricultural workers who owe a share of their crop to the person or corporation whose land they live on and work; the system has traditionally functioned in a way that traps workers in debt and perpetual service.

**suffrage:** the right to vote.

**suppression:** the act of prohibiting or stopping the activities of another group, especially a minority group.

**tenant farmer:** a farmer working land owned by another and paying rent for use of the land.

**terrorism:** use of violence against unarmed groups in order to gain an end, usually political.

**vigilante:** a member of a group taking the law into its own hands and using terrorism to deprive groups or individuals of their civil rights, especially minorities and dissidents.

**white supremacy:** belief in the superiority of white people over people of color, including the right of whites to keep others in subordinate roles.

# Selected and Annotated Bibliography on the Ku Klux Klan

## BOOKS

Chalmers, David M. *Hooded Americanism: The History of the Ku Klux Klan*. New York: New Viewpoints, 1981.

One of the most detailed and comprehensive works available on the KKK, this book, a revision of a 1965 edition, offers a wealth of information covering the origins of the Klan to the present.

Fisher, William H. *The Invisible Empire: A Bibliography of the Ku Klux Klan*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1980.

This bibliography listing works of scholarly and general interest will facilitate further research on the Klan.

Lowe, David. *Ku Klux Klan: The Invisible Empire*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1967.

An Emmy award-winning 1965 CBS Reports documentary presented in text and photographs. Highlights Klan history and terrorism through the mid-1960's.

Sims, Patsy. *The Klan*. New York: Stein and Day, 1978.

Provides extensive interviews with Klan members and leaders with little editorial comment by the author. Knowledge about the history and on-going role of the Klan may be necessary to counter the Klan's perspectives that are presented.

Trelease, Allen W. *White Terror: The Ku Klux Klan Conspiracy and Southern Reconstruction*. New York: Harper & Row, 1971.

Provides important and useful insights into the development of the Klan in the context of white supremacists' reaction to the progressive changes of Reconstruction. The book is out of print but may be found in local libraries.

### For Young Readers

Cook, Fred J. *The Ku Klux Klan: America's Recurring Nightmare*. New York: Julian Messner, 1980.

**NOT RECOMMENDED.** "To understand the significance of the [Klan] in American history, one has to go back to its origins," states the author. Cook's observation is accurate, but his discussion of the origins of the Klan is appalling. He ignores the terrorist nature of the first Klan, its role in the brutal reassertion of white supremacy after the Civil War, and the democratic gains of the Reconstruction period. He repeats gross stereotypes about blacks, idolizes General Forrest, and romanticizes and condones the role of the original Klan. To so misrepresent the origins of this white supremacist terrorist group raises serious question about his understanding of the significance of the Klan today.

Ingalls, Robert P. *Hoods: The Story of the Ku Klux Klan*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1979.

Only two books for young people on the Klan are currently available; this is by far the better choice (see above). The book does have its flaws—a romanticized picture of the Klan founders and first leader, and a poor discussion of Jim Crow laws. On the whole, however, Ingalls provides a lot of information on the development of the KKK in the context of white supremacy. The chapters on the 1920's through the 1960's are particularly useful. The concluding chapter seriously understates the Klan's current violence and appeal, perhaps because of the author's overly optimistic belief that white supremacy is a phenomenon of the past.

## OTHER PRINT MATERIALS

Braden, Anne. "The Ku Klux Klan Mentality—A Threat in the 1980's." *Freedomways*, Vol. 20, No. 1, 1980.

Braden, a long-time racial justice activist, presents a concise and perceptive analysis of the social forces contributing to the contemporary rise of the Klan and the need for organized response. Available from *Freedomways*, 799 Broadway, New York, NY 10003 for $1.25.

Calbreath, Dean. "Kovering the Klan: How the Press Gets Tricked into Boosting the KKK." *Columbia Journalism Review*, March/April, 1981.

An informative look at the seeming ease with which the Klan often manipulates the media to disseminate its ideology while avoiding the exposure of investigative reporting. Available from *Columbia Journalism Review*, Room 700A, Journalism Building, Columbia University, New York, NY 10027 for $4.

Council on Interracial Books for Children. "Whitewashing White Racists: *Junior Scholastic* and the KKK." *Interracial Books for Children Bulletin*, Vol. 11, No. 5, 1980.

A critical analysis of the distortions and omissions in a *Junior Scholastic* article entitled "Kids and the KKK." Available from the Council on Interracial Books for Children, 1841 Broadway, New York, NY 10023 for $2.75.

Kinoy, Arthur. *Hearings on Klan and Racist Violence: Testimony Presented to the Subcommittee on Crime of the U.S. House Judiciary Committee*, 1981.

Kinoy, professor at Rutger's Law School, presented testimony before the Subcommittee on the contemporary relevance of Reconstruction anti-Klan statutes and the jurisdiction of the U.S. Justice Department to enjoin racist violence and harassment. Available from the Center for Constitutional Rights, 853 Broadway, New York, NY 10003 for $2.

Scott, John Anthony. *The Origins and Development of the KKK as a Badge of Slavery*, January, 1981.

A highly informative analysis of the pre-war slave patrols as the genesis of the Ku Klux Klan. Explores the use of brutality and violence by the patrols and the Klan with the goal of reducing black people to a condition of unquestioning docility and submission. Available from the Center for Constitutional Rights, 853 Broadway, New York, NY 10003 for $2.

*Southern Exposure*. "Mark of the Beast: Special Section on the Ku Klux Klan," Vol. VIII, No. 2, Summer, 1980.

An excellent set of 17 articles on the Klan, including eyewitness reports and analyses. Available from *Southern Exposure*, P.O. Box 531, Durham, NC 27702 for $3.

*The Tennessean*. "The 'New' Klan: White Racism in the 1980's." *The Tennessean*, February, 1980.

A 44-page newspaper supplement of articles published by *The Tennessean*. Informative articles and many photographs provide a useful source of documented information about contemporary Klan aims and activities. Reprints available from *The Tennessean*, 1100 Broadway, Nashville, TN 37202.

Thompson, Jerry. "My Life with the Klan." *The Tennessean*, December, 1980.

A 32-page newspaper supplement containing nine articles by a *Tennessean* reporter who infiltrated the Klan for almost a year. Thompson's articles contain some interesting "inside" experiences, but omit much information on actual Klan violence. Reprints available from *The Tennessean*, 1100 Broadway, Nashville, TN 37202.

## AUDIO-VISUAL MATERIALS

*Klan Youth Corps* (11 minutes, 16mm, color film).

Originally presented as part of the CBS-TV program *30 Minutes*, this film explores the Klan's youth program and interviews some young Klan members. While opposing views are presented, they do not adequately counter the pro-Klan information and image. (For example, the Klan's grossly racist and distorted version of the Reconstruction period is presented without refutation.) Provides background information for teachers, but should not be used with students without careful preparation. Available from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 823 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017; rental: $25. (or write Carousel Films Inc., 1501 Broadway, New York, NY 10036).

*Ku Klux Klan: The Invisible Empire* (45 minutes, 16mm, black and white film).

A 1965 Emmy award-winning CBS Reports documentary film. Footage of Klan activities in the early 1960's serves as good historical background. Available from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 823 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017; rental: $20. (or write Carousel Films Inc., 1501 Broadway, New York, NY 10036).

*The New Klan* (58 minutes, 16mm, color film).

Produced in 1978 for the Public Broadcasting System, this documentary explores Klan factions in the late 1970's, with particular focus on David Duke, a former Nazi who was then head of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (he is now head of the National Association for the Advancement of White People). The emphasis on the factions and their leadership necessarily dates the film. Much of the anti-black and anti-Semitic propaganda presented by Klan members is unrefuted in the movie. Also, segments of the film are too long; for example, the Mexican border patrol—which was a Klan media stunt to begin with—gets considerable footage. Available from Corinth Films, 410 E. 62 St., New York, NY 10021; rental: high school classroom showings, $100.; standard, $150.

*Resurgence* (55 minutes, 16mm, color film).

Juxtaposes footage of the contemporary Klan with that of black workers on strike in Laurel, Mississippi, to show the Klan's role in spearheading reaction against the movement for equality. The economic, political and social concerns and struggles of the primarily female black workforce in Laurel provides a dramatic counterpoint to the scapegoating, hatred and bigotry of the Klan. For rental information write Skylight Pictures, 330 W. 42 Street, 24th floor, New York, NY 10036.

*Unmasking the Ku Klux Klan* (40 minutes, slide-tape).

Provides a great deal of information on the Klan with excellent visuals. Part I covers the development of the Klan; Part II compares the Klan's role today with fascism in Nazi Germany. Available from the Movement against Racism and the Klan, P.O. Box 11381, Birmingham, AL 35202; rental: $25. plus shipping; sale, $150.

## SOURCES OF INFORMATION ON KLAN ACTIVITIES*

*Appeal to Reason*. Movement against Racism and the Klan, P.O. Box 11381, Birmingham, AL 35202 (bimonthly; $3. for 6 issues, $5. for 12 issues).

*Facts*. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 823 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017 (periodic information bulletins).

*Fight the Right*. Center for Constitutional Rights, 853 Broadway, New York, NY 10003 (twice a year; 25¢ each).

*Klanwatch Intelligence Report*. Southern Poverty Law Center, 1001 South Hull Street, Montgomery, AL 36101 (monthly; contribution appreciated).

*National Anti-Klan Network Newsletter*. National Anti-Klan Network, P.O. Box 10500, Atlanta, GA 30310 (quarterly; $5.). The Network also maintains a listing of organizations working to oppose the Klan.

*TUFF Newsletter*. Those United to Fight Fascism, P.O. Box 15366, Columbus, OH 43215 (monthly; $5. for 12 issues).

*Identification as a source of information does not mean organizational endorsement.

**United States of America v. Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan**
**United States District Court, New Orleans Division**
**December 1, 1965**

250 Federal Supplement 330 (1965)

We find that to attain its ends, the klan exploits the forces of hate, prejudice, and ignorance. We find that the klan relies on systematic economic coercion, varieties of intimidation, and physical violence in attempting to frustrate the national policy expressed in civil rights legislation. We find that the klansmen . . . are a "fearful conspiracy against society . . . [holding] men silent by the terror of [their acts] and [their] power for evil."

. . . The evil we find in the Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan is an absolute evil inherent in any secret order holding itself above the law: "the natural tendency of all such organizations . . . to violence and crime." . . . [V]iolence and crime follow as the night the day when masked men conspire against society itself. Wrapped in myths and misbeliefs which they think relieve them of the obligations of ordinary citizens, klansmen pledge their first allegiance to their Konstitution and give their first loyalty to a cross in flames.

. . . Legal tolerance of secret societies must cease at the point where their members assume supra-governmental powers and take the law in their own hands. . . . We enjoin the Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan . . . from interfering with . . . the civil rights of Negro citizens in Washington Parish.

Additional copies available from:

Council on Interracial Books for Children, Inc.
1841 Broadway
New York, NY 10023